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ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Governor

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THE VIRGINIAN WHO MADE ILLINOIS A FREE STATE

BY EUDORA RAMSAY RICHARDSON

IT was the first of April in the year 1819. Negroes were gathered on the lawn of Edward Coles' estate close by the Rockfish River. Against a background of dogwood trees in early bloom stood a row of covered wagons hitched to patient mules. The air was fragrant with the scent of grass after the first spring mowing, and the forsythia swayed in a soft breeze prophetic of summer in Virginia. A tall young man, lean and willowy, with delicately chiseled nose, high brow, and firm thin lips that softened into a ready smile, moved among his slaves.

"We are going on a journey," he said, "all my people and all their children—all except Aunt Amanda and Aunt Sophie, who are too old to travel."

The two women fell on their faces, wailing and beseeching Marse Edward not to leave them.

"You will be taken care of till the end of your days, well

Eudora Ramsay Richardson has written more than two dozen books in the past twenty years, principally on historical subjects related to her home state, Virginia, and on quartermaster supply in World War II. Best known, perhaps, is her Little Aleck, *a biography of Alexander H. Stephens, vice-president of the Confederacy. In addition to her writing,* Who's Who *shows she has been active in civic affairs and in various women's organizations. Mrs. Richardson was assisted in the research for this paper by Ralph E. McCoy of the University of Illinois Library.*

taken care of," he said. "The journey will not be easy for those of us who are young and strong." Then, turning to the rest of the group, he continued, "Get into the wagons. It is time to start. Ralph Crawford will be in charge. Mr. Green and I will overtake you on horseback."

The caravan wound slowly through the Virginia mountains. Edward Coles and his traveling companion overtook it one day's journey from Brownsville, Pennsylvania, where the wagons were abandoned for two flatboats summarily purchased. At Pittsburgh Coles discharged the pilot, who had been a worthless drunk, and became both captain and pilot.

The flatboats, lashed together, floated gently down the Ohio River. The day was calm and beautiful, with clear spring sunlight sparkling on the surface of the river. The time had come, thought Coles, to tell his slaves the reason for the journey northward.

"Bring all my people to the decks of the boats," he said to Crawford, the handsome mulatto who had been placed in charge of the expedition. "You have perhaps wondered why this journey is being undertaken. I am ready to tell you and the others and curious to see what effect the news will have."

The Negroes grouped themselves on the decks of the boats in colorful knots, women and girls in gay bandannas and red and blue homespun dresses and men and boys in rough "Negro cloth." Big faces and little were intent and eager.

"You have wanted to know, I am sure," Coles began in a voice that was deep and resonant, "what I intend to do with you. I have taken you from Virginia to make you free. You are no longer slaves, my people. You are free, as free as I am. You are at liberty to proceed with me or to go ashore."

In breathless silence the Negroes stared first at Coles and then at each other. Clearly they did not believe what they had heard. "It is true," Coles continued. "You are free. There will be no more bondage as long as you live, no fear of being sold, no fear of families being separated. I am taking you to a free

country. You may go there with me or seek your fortunes elsewhere."

Suddenly the silence was broken by low giggling laughter and then by joyous shouts of "Praise de Lawd! Gawd bless Marse Edward! De Kingdom of Heaben done come. Praise Gawd!"

Crawford lifted his hand and demanded silence. "Go think ober what Marse Edward done said," he commanded. "When you done thunk, I go' talk wid you."

As the Negroes ceased their shouting, Coles looked admiringly at Crawford. Here was a man born to be a leader, he thought, descended no doubt from a long line of African chieftans.

"Marse Edward," Ralph said in his melodious voice, "I've knowed you was oppose to holdin' humans in slavery, and I knowed you was plannin' to free yo' people, but I didn't think you would do it so soon. You oughtn't to let 'em go till you make 'em work to pay back all the money you losin'. Keep 'em, Marse Edward, till you git settled in the new country."

"Raffe speak de Gawd's truf," a man cried out. "We stay, Marse Edward, we stay longst you need us."

Coles stepped back a few paces. He was holding his head high and his lips and chin firm.

"No," he said. "I have made up my mind. You have already been in bondage too long. Other work has prevented my freeing you sooner—other work and the selling of my Virginia property. In consideration of the delay and of your past faithful services, I am giving to each head of a family a quarter section of land, containing one hundred and sixty acres."

"That too much, Marse Edward," said one of the men. "You done enough when you free us."

"You done enough when you free us," came the echo.

"You will need the land," Coles replied, his eyes shining and his face lighted by a smile that gave it great beauty. "For

me what you have done today is payment enough. Will you all go with me to Illinois?"

"We go, we go," cried the Negroes. "Gawd bless Marse Edward."[1]

Edward Coles (1786-1868), the seventh son of John Coles of Enniscorthy in Albermarle County, Virginia, was to the manner born, silver spoon and all. Edward's great-grandfather, Walter Coles, of a distinguished Irish family, had married one Alice Philpot and migrated to America. Edward's grandfather John Coles, who had large holdings in Richmond, was a considerable man in the colony. Though a vestryman of St. John's Church, he had signed a petition got up by dissenters from the Established Church asking equal privileges for all religious sects. He built a summer home or hunting lodge on an estate he acquired in Albemarle (then Goochland) County and named the place Enniscorthy for his ancestral home in County Wexford, Ireland. His son, another John, Edward's father, added parcels of land until the estate contained almost 5,000 acres. John Coles, who died in 1808, carved from his holdings estates for all his sons.[2]

There is no doubt that Edward Coles would have achieved prominence if he had remained in Virginia. He had attended Hampden-Sydney College and the College of William and Mary, and from 1809 to 1815 had been President James Madison's private secretary. The many slaves, however, that his father had left him, along with the large plantation on the Rockfish River, lay heavy upon his conscience. Since his college days he had been convinced that no man had a moral right to hold other men in bondage.

While still serving as Madison's secretary, Edward wrote

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[1] Manuscript by Edward Coles published in E. B. Washburne, *Sketch of Edward Coles,* which, with added material, is in Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Governor Edward Coles (Illinois Historical Collections,* XV, Springfield, 1920), 42-46. Hereafter cited as Alvord.

[2] William Bedford Coles, *The Coles Family in Virginia* (New York, 1931); Virginia Writers' Project, *Jefferson's Albemarle* (Charlottesville, Va., 1941); Albemarle County records.

to Thomas Jefferson "to entreat and beseech" that the great man devise and put "into operation some plan for the gradual emancipation of slavery." The letter began with an apology and ended thus:

> I will only add as an excuse for the liberty I take . . . that from the time I was capable of reflecting on the nature of political society, and of the rights appertaining to man, I have not only been principled against slavery, but have had feelings so repugnant to it as to decide me not to hold them; which decision has forced me to leave my native state, and with it all my relations and friends.[3]

Jefferson replied that his position on the subject of slavery had long since been in the possession of the public. Asking him, however, to undertake this "salutary but arduous work" of leading the fight for emancipation was like

> bidding old Priam to buckle [on] the armor of Hector. . . . This enterprise is for the young. . . . It shall have all my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man. . . . I hope then, my dear Sir, . . . you will come forward in the public councils, become the Missionary of this doctrine truly Christian, insinuate & inculcate it softly but steadily thro' the medium of writing and conversation, associate others in your labors . . . bring on & press the proposition perseveringly until it's accomplishment.[4]

But young Coles was not willing to inculcate his doctrine softly and steadily. He could not live in Virginia, where an act of the General Assembly, passed in 1806, required manumitted slaves to leave the state within twelve months after their liberation. He must find for his Negroes a new home and means of livelihood. New territories, later to become states, were being carved from the great Northwest, which Virginia had ceded to the Federal Government in 1784. The sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787, according to the provisions of which the territories were being organized, provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist except as punishment for crime. Edward Coles was determined to move his Negroes to the free Northwest.

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[3] Coles to Jefferson, July 31, 1814, Alvord, 23.
[4] Jefferson to Coles, Aug. 25, 1814, facsimile in Alvord, 24.

When the Treaty of Ghent in January, 1815, brought definitive conclusion to the war with England, he resigned his post as secretary to President Madison and made known his plan to take a look at the western country. The Coleses of Virginia held many a family council. On May 18 Isaac Coles wrote to his cousin, Captain Walter Coles of Chalk Level, Pittsylvania County, that his brother Edward had been disappointed in his intended visit to his aunt and friends in Pittsylvania. Deplorably, Edward was "still bent on his journey to Ohio with a view to permanent settlement there, from wh. all our efforts have been unable to divert him."

In the summer of 1815 Edward Coles, accompanied by his slave, Ralph Crawford, set out upon an incredibly difficult buggy trip. He traveled through the wildernesses of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, reaching the village of St. Louis by way of Shawneetown and Kaskaskia. Then he went by river to New Orleans, by sea to Savannah, and by land back to Virginia.[5]

Upon his return to Enniscorthy, he wrote out his plans in a letter to his friend, Nicholas Biddle, author, banker, and abolitionist. He had just returned, he said, from a journey to the western and southern country, having traveled 6,000 miles in a little more than ten months. The area that had pleased him most was that bordering both sides of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers near their confluence. He had purchased 6,000 acres in the best portion of this country. He continued:

> Were I a married man, I think I could set myself down and be happy in the Illinois country, especially if I could induce some clever sociable fellows to accompany me and live near me, but single as I am with my partiality for society, I am aware I could not be happy however much wealth and distinction I might acquire.

As a matter of fact, he preferred less wealth and a city such as Philadelphia, where he could see such congenial friends as Biddle. Or, he added, if only he had as counselor "some

[5] Alvord, 36.

fair girl" who would take him "for better or for worse!"[6]

President Madison stepped in, however, to postpone Coles' decision. Czar Alexander I of Russia, who was bent upon asserting his importance, had imagined himself insulted by the United States. At the moment there was no United States minister in Russia, for William Pinkney, who had been appointed to the post, was indefinitely detained in Naples. No one seemed better fitted for the task of soothing Alexander than Coles. Accordingly, he sailed from Boston in the summer of 1816 aboard the man-of-war *Prometheus*. For three months he danced attendance in St. Petersburg, awaiting the return of the Czar, who was on a visit to Moscow and Poland. Eventually he succeeded in placating Alexander and then made a pleasant tour of the European capitals, where he met many world figures.[7]

In the summer of 1818 Coles made another trip to Illinois. At Kaskaskia, the capital, a convention was in session to frame a constitution for the new state of Illinois. The earnest young man from slave-holding Virginia watched the proceedings with deep interest and concern. Though he would have no congenial friends close by and no fair girl who had taken him for better or for worse, he had decided to settle in Edwardsville, Illinois, if the Illinois constitution should prohibit slavery. Despite the Ordinance of 1787, the situation was precarious. In 1807, when Illinois had been part of Indiana, the Indiana legislature had authorized owners to bring Negroes above fifteen years of age into the state and to have them bound for service for periods agreed upon by owners and slaves. This practice had been written into the laws of Illinois Territory. Any person, moreover, could bring in Negroes under the age of fifteen and keep men until they were thirty-five and women until they were thirty-two. Children born to these Negroes had to serve their masters many years—men until they were

[6] Coles to Biddle, May 15, 1816.
[7] Alvord, 37-38.

thirty and women until they were twenty-eight. In 1813 Illinois had passed an act to prevent migration of free Negroes into the territory.

Coles looked on and listened and talked with influential persons. The constitution as drafted was not wholly pleasing to the young Virginian. Though Illinois was admitted into the Union as a free state, limited slavery was winked at.[8]

Coles returned to Virginia determined to sell his real estate and bring to Illinois the human property his father had left him. So it came about that the strange caravan took its northwesterly journey in the summer of 1819.

It was on the Fourth of July that Coles issued to each Negro a certificate of freedom, which read:

> Not believing that man can have of right a property in his fellow man, but on the contrary, that all mankind were endowed by nature with equal rights, I do therefore, by these presents restore to..... that inalienable liberty of which he has been deprived.[9]

President James Monroe, on March 5, 1819, appointed Coles register of the Edwardsville land office. After the town of Edwardsville was laid out in 1816, it became an important place because of the establishment of the land office. Its population was 166 in the summer of 1818, when the census was taken.[10]

Coles attended assiduously to his duties as register of the land office and also became active in other public affairs. On March 21, 1819, the legislature elected him one of the six directors of the Illinois State Bank.[11] In the spring of 1820 he was named trustee of the town of Edwardsville[12] and became the moving spirit in the organization of the Illinois Agricultural Society and was elected vice-president.[13]

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[8] Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833; and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards* (Springfield, 1870), 179-80.
[9] Alvord, 47.
[10] Solon Justus Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Springfield, 1917), 84.
[11] *Vandalia Intelligencer,* Aug. 10, 1822.
[12] *Edwardsville Spectator,* April 25, 1820.
[13] *Vandalia Intelligencer,* Sept. 23, 1820.

It did not come as a surprise, therefore, when the *Edwardsville Spectator* announced on October 30, 1821 that "Edward Coles . . . in compliance with the wishes of his friends," would be a "candidate for the office of Governor of Illinois, at the ensuing election to be held on the first Monday of August next." The surprise came, to some at least, on August 10, 1822, when the *Vandalia Intelligencer* announced that returns throughout the state showed Coles to have been elected Illinois' second governor with thirty-three per cent of the 8,606 votes cast in a four-cornered race against three pronounced advocates of slavery.

The campaign had been acrimonious in the extreme, with slavery the dominant issue. Chief Justice Joseph B. Phillips admitted his proslavery stand. There could be no doubt that James B. Moore was in favor of slavery, since he was an active supporter of William H. Crawford of Georgia, over whom James Monroe had barely won the presidency in 1816. Thomas C. Browne, who entered the campaign at the last moment, was also known to be a friend of slavery. Coles won because the opposition was divided. The vote stood: Coles 2,854, Phillips 2,687, Browne 2,443, and Moore 622.[14]

The young man who had fled to what he thought was a free state must have wondered in the months that followed why he had left the comforts of Virginia for the hardships of the frontier. As governor of Illinois, elected by a minority of the voters, he faced a hostile legislature and a divided people. The proslavery press had held him up to ridicule. This satirical piece, from the *Edwardsville Spectator,* is typical of the highly colored journalism of the day:

> Yesterday departed from this place, on a political cruize, the new flat-bottomed boat Edward Coles. It is said she will touch Vandalia, to take on an additional supply of whisky and gingerbread, a description of ammunition essentially necessary to enable her to contend with the barge Joseph

[14] T. C. Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848 (Illinois Historical Collections,* XVIII, Springfield, 1923), 14-15.

Phillips, which it is expected she will fall in with on the Wabash. . . . Much apprehension is entertained for her safe return, as she is thought to have been hastily built, and of the worst materials; and her commander is known to be a mere fresh-water sailor, and has put to sea with a bad compass.[15]

After the victory Coles could take comfort in an editorial which appeared in the *Vandalia Intelligencer*:

Although the election has not eventuated precisely as we could have wished, yet we do not hesitate to say, from our acquaintance with Mr. Coles, his independence and talents, that our state will be as well governed under his administration, as of any other of the gentlemen who were candidates. Mr. Coles is a friend to the Internal Improvement, and will use all his influence toward the accomplishment of the Illinois Canal. . . . Educated as he has been at our seat of government, he is, doubtless, better acquainted with the politics of our country than any of his competitors.[16]

In his first message to the people of Illinois the young man from Virginia made his stand clear. The limited slavery that existed in Illinois, he said, was contrary to the spirit of the Ordinance of 1787. The obligation to protect the French inhabitants who owned slaves could be said to have long ago expired. The old Black Code should be abolished, and effective laws should be passed against the kidnapping of free Negroes.[17]

The legislature did not look kindly upon the Governor's message. Illinois, it was argued, had been slave territory before Virginia ceded it to the United States. Therefore, the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery should be construed as illegal. The French Canadians, earliest inhabitants of Illinois, were slaveholders as were the later emigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, and other Southern states. A report submitted by the Senate declared that, the constitutional convention of 1818 having been hampered by the Ordinance of 1787, another constitutional convention should be called.

The contest for the convention call that followed was

[15] *Edwardsville Spectator*, Feb. 19, 1822.
[16] *Vandalia Intelligencer*, Aug. 24, 1822.
[17] T. C. Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848 (Centennial History of Illinois*, II, Chicago, 1919), 77.

characterized by machinations worthy of a later day. In the preliminary balloting the proslavery group had exactly two-thirds of the votes in the Senate, and in the House it lacked one vote of the necessary two-thirds. By the unseating of an accredited member of the House the measure was passed.[18] This act provided that an election be held to determine whether the people wanted a constitutional convention.

The fight was a bitter one, but Coles had left Virginia with a purpose from which he had no idea of being deflected. He had brought his slaves to Illinois to be set free, and he would work to preserve their freedom and to make the state of his adoption a place where they and others like them could live with dignity.

Though following Thomas Jefferson's advice to become a missionary and inculcate his doctrine steadily, he was by no means working softly. Using all the munificent $1,000 salary allowed the governor and much of his private fortune, Coles endeavored to let the people know exactly why the convention was being called. The preconvention party had soft-pedaled the slavery issue and had merely said that the constitution had been hurriedly drawn and needed revision. Coles obtained control of the *Vandalia Intelligencer,* published in the new capital of the state. For this paper and for the *Edwardsville Spectator* he wrote prodigiously. Letters to his friend Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia resulted in the sending of many tracts and the earnest co-operation of the young Quaker abolitionist Roberts Vaux. Coles visited all the settlements in Illinois, addressing gatherings and reasoning with leading citizens. An open letter, which he wrote, appealing to the people was signed by fifteen members of the legislature. The state was approaching civil war; families were torn asunder—fathers against sons, brothers and sisters divided in their allegiance. Angry mobs stormed the house of the missionary governor. If the people

[18] Wayne E. Stevens, "The Shaw-Hansen Election Contest," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. VII, no. 4 (Jan., 1915), 389-401.

should vote for a constitutional convention, there was little doubt that the proslavery element would win the day. The convention, therefore, had to be defeated.

In the midst of the whole unpleasant business Coles paused to pour out his troubles to his friend James Madison. Saying that the acrimony and the trickery of the proslavery element distressed him, he added:

> I feel a deep interest in this question, not only because I am opposed to it in principle, and think the further introduction of slavery would be highly injurious to the prosperity and happiness of this state, but that I fear it would disturb the harmony of the Union; as already the question is disputed with warmth, how far the Ordinance of 1787 is binding upon the state—whether Congress has the right to restrict a state. . . . Whatever may be the result of this question, it will certainly have the effect of giving me a very stormy time of it as long as I shall be at the helm.[19]

The storms grew more and more severe as election day approached. On the first Monday of August, 1824, however, the hand-to-hand struggle ended. The vote against the convention stood 6,640, and the vote for the convention was 4,972. The resolution of the legislature had been defeated by the comfortable margin of 1,668 votes.[20] The original constitution would hold, and Illinois would remain in the column of free states. No one doubted that in large part the victory was attributable to Governor Coles.

The young Governor's struggles, however, were not at an end. The proslavery legislature elected two proslavery senators to represent Illinois in Washington—Jesse B. Thomas and John McLean. Moreover, his enemies seemed to have sat up nights thinking up ways to persecute the antislavery governor.

Though Coles had brought his emancipated Negroes to Illinois in 1819, it was not until 1824 that someone discovered that a law had been violated. Then it was that a suit was filed against him, the writ made returnable at Edwardsville, for the recovery of $200 for each Negro emancipated.

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[19] Coles to James Madison, April 25, 1823.
[20] Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, p. 27.

The first legislature of Illinois, which met in 1819 at the time Coles was moving from Virginia, passed an act that neither Coles nor his legal adviser Daniel P. Cook was aware of and that had not been published until October, 1819. The law provided that all Negroes and mulattoes must produce certificates of freedom to be recorded by the county clerks. Though Coles had not known of the act, he had given his Negroes certificates of emancipation and had had the papers recorded.[21] The law further provided that any person bringing in Negroes to be emancipated must give a thousand-dollar bond for each Negro. Coles had given no bond, but he had freed the Negroes before arriving in Illinois.[22]

The trial was a travesty upon justice. Over and over Judge John Reynolds refused to allow the defendant to submit important evidence. When Coles pleaded the statute of limitations and put in several special pleas, the plaintiff filed a demurrer and the case went over to the September term. From the bill of exceptions it appears that Judge Reynolds refused to permit Coles to prove to the jury that three of the Negroes had died before the beginning of the case, to prove that he had never been notified of the law or required to give bond, or to recount the legal advice given him by Cook. A packed jury found the defendant guilty and imposed a fine of $2,000.

When a motion was filed for a new trial, the case went over to the March, 1825, term of court. Meanwhile, the legislature, in January, passed an act releasing all penalties incurred under the act of 1819. To enable the defendant to take advantage of this act, motion was made to set aside the verdict and the judgment. Judge Samuel McRoberts, who was then presiding over the Edwardsville court, overruled the motion for a new trial and rejected the pleas. He was not able, however, to prevent an appeal to the Supreme Court of the state which, in June, 1826, reversed the judgment of the circuit court.[23]

[21] Alvord, 354-56.
[22] *Ibid.*, 46-47.
[23] The documents in the case are in Alvord, 205-21.

Though vindicated at last, Coles had been deeply distressed and humiliated. At the beginning of the case he had written to his friend Roberts Vaux:

> A suit has been recently instituted against me. . . . My negroes emigrated to and settled in this State about *one month after* the passage of this act, but more than *five months before* it was printed or promulgated. To the peculiar hardship of my case, from the impossibility of knowing of the existence of the law, until after I had violated its provisions and incurred its penalty, is to be added the fact of my not being content with freeing the negroes in Virginia, and thus relinquishing more than one-third of the property given me by my father, but from a desire to promote their interest, removed them to this State, at an expense of between five and six hundred dollars, and then gave them as a remuneration for their past services . . . one hundred and sixty acres of land to each who had passed the age of 24. They all behaved uniformly well, and are honest, industrious and prosperous. . . . Never having been sued before, I feel the more mortified at being prosecuted for violating the laws of a State over which the people have called me to preside.[24]

No amount of persecution by the proslavery forces, however, could prevent Coles from speaking in behalf of the faith that was in him. While the case against him was pending, his message to the legislature urged the abrogation of the Black Code and the adoption of effective measures to put an end to the kidnapping of Negroes.[25]

The Black Code of 1819 contained much more than the requirements that certificates of freedom be given and recorded and that the emancipator post bonds for all Negroes freed. It made the harboring of runaways a felony. It provided that Negroes without certificates be advertised in newspapers and hired out for a year, at the end of which a certificate of freedom might be granted if no owner had appeared. A Negro might appear as witness only against another Negro, a mulatto, or an Indian.[26]

While the suit against him was pending, Governor Coles was called to Virginia. The lieutenant governor was an ignor-

[24] *Ibid.*, 168-69
[25] Pease, *Frontier State,* Chap. IV, gives a good account of the convention.
[26] *Ibid.*, 47.

ant fellow by the name of Adolphus F. Hubbard, one of the most rabid of the proslavery leaders. Coles had misgivings as to what might have taken place under the guiding hand of Hubbard; yet no specific information had reached him while he completed his business and began his return journey. At Louisville, however, he met a friend who had much to tell. The opposition had planned to keep Hubbard in office.[27]

Back in Illinois, Coles soon learned what had happened. He read in the *Edwardsville Spectator* of September 3, 1825, that Hubbard had arrived in Vandalia the week before and had assumed executive functions. This editorial appeared in the *Vandalia Intelligencer* of September 9:

> The 18th section of the third article of the constitution states—in the absence of the Governor from the state, the Lieutenant Governor "shall exercise all the functions and authority appertaining to the office of Governor, until the time pointed out by this constitution for the election of the Governor shall arrive, unless the General Assembly shall provide by law for the election of a Governor to fill such vacancy.
> QUERY—Is Edward Coles any longer Governor of Illinois? And is not the Lieutenant Governor, Governor of the State, until the first Monday in December 1826?

From friends came word of caucuses held throughout the state to devise methods to oust the Governor whom the people had elected. Fortunately, however, the voters had discovered the tactics that were being employed and were expressing themselves in such a manner as to weaken Coles' opposition. Fortunately also, all the executive offices of the state recognized Edward Coles as Governor.[28] Accordingly, when Hubbard issued a commission immediately after Coles' return, Secretary of State George Forquer refused to sign it.[29] Hubbard's request for a mandamus against Forquer was refused by the Supreme Court. Hubbard's appeal to the legislature got only one affirmative vote from each house.[30] The court's decision

[27] Coles to Roberts Vaux, Feb. 8, 1826, Alvord, 178.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Vandalia Intelligencer,* Nov. 4, 1825.
[30] Alvord, 179.

put an end to Hubbard's contention. The judges delivered separate opinions, all in favor of Coles.[31]

A pleasant interlude brightened the gloomy year of 1825—the year that marked the end of James Monroe's two administrations and the end of the Era of Good Feeling. When Coles learned of Lafayette's intended tour of the United States, he sent a personal invitation to include Illinois in the itinerary.[32] The general, whom Coles had seen several times in Paris during his diplomatic visit to Europe in 1816, replied at once with a conditional acceptance,[33] later made it definite.[34]

On April 28, 1825, Governor Coles headed a delegation from Illinois to St. Louis, participated in the St. Louis ceremonies, and the next day boarded the steamship *Natchez* to escort Lafayette to Illinois. There were gala days in Kaskaskia—salutes, banquets, and receptions—with many ladies to delight the gallant Frenchman and his party.[35]

Coles delivered his final message to the Illinois legislature on December 5, 1826, and Ninian Edwards, first governor of the territory, was inaugurated third governor of the state. Edwards had defeated Thomas Sloo, Jr., and Adolphus F. Hubbard.[36] Governor Coles' last address to the legislature was according to the pattern of the first. Again he expressed faith in the state of his adoption; again he outlined liberal policies bearing upon roads, waterways, and schools; and again he urged equality of opportunity for all citizens regardless of nationality, creed, or race.

The *Illinois Intelligencer,* which had been critical of Coles, stated in its issue of December 9, 1826:

> Of this gentleman, it is tribute of justice due to rare and sterling quality, to say, that, with the termination of his gubernatorial labors, he is enjoying

[31] *Vandalia Intelligencer,* Dec. 29, 1825.
[32] Coles to Lafayette, Dec. 9, 1824.
[33] Lafayette to Coles, Jan. 16, 1825.
[34] Lafayette to Coles, March 8, 1825.
[35] *Vandalia Intelligencer,* May 13, 27, 1825; *Edwardsville Spectator,* May 3, 17, 1825; *Illinois Gazette,* May 1, 1825.
[36] Pease, *Illinois Election Returns,* 42-43.

extremely the esteem and confidence of his fellow citizens, as the reward of his firm and unremitting services. . . . Of the fidelity of his official acts, it may in truth be said, that they will stand the test of the severest scrutiny of talents and of time. He has, in fact, been what he ought, and what all Governors should be, the Governor of the State, and not of a party.

Coles had passed his fortieth birthday when he retired from the governorship. He had not married. Work had so filled his first seven years in Illinois that he had had little time to think of loneliness or the social life that he loved. After the lifting of executive responsibilities, however, he made frequent trips east. Of all the places that he visited, he liked Philadelphia best, for there he was thrown with people who thought his thoughts and spoke his language. Through Nicholas Biddle, then president of the Bank of the United States, he had come to know the leading people of Philadelphia. Through Roberts Vaux, who had sent the antislavery material for circulation in Illinois, Coles met a delightful group of old Quaker families. Roberts Vaux's father had married the daughter of Hugh Roberts, whose great grandfather from Peullyn, Wales, had come to America in 1682 with William Penn. On the frequent and long visits to Philadelphia Coles saw much of Roberts Vaux's cousin Sally Logan Roberts, also a descendant of the first Hugh Roberts. Though he was admittedly in love with Sally, he had no thought of inviting to the Illinois country a young woman who had been reared in elegant Philadelphia, and he was not yet ready to leave the western home of his adoption.

In 1831, Illinois friends persuaded Coles, over his protest, to run for Congress. His letters expressed the fear that his many absences from the state would make his election impossible. As the tide of the Jacksonian democracy rose to its flood, he knew that he could not win, for he had long been an outspoken critic of Old Hickory. He had even quoted Thomas Jefferson as having said, "One might as well make a sailor of a

cock, or a soldier of a goose, as a President of Andrew Jackson."[37]

Soon after his defeat he moved to Philadelphia. At the age of forty-seven—in 1833—he was married to Sally Logan Roberts. He devoted the rest of his life to his family and to the cause of freedom. In many letters to friends in Virginia he outlined plans for gradual emancipation. His *History of the Ordinance of 1787,* which was prepared in 1856 for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is a careful study of that epochal piece of legislation. In alluding to the antislavery agitation in Illinois, he wrote:

> It has ever since afforded me the most delightful and consoling reflections, that the abuse I endured, the labor I performed, and the anxiety I felt, were not without their reward: and to have it conceded by opponents as well as supporters, that I was chiefly instrumental in preventing a call of a convention, and making Illinois a slave holding State.[38]

Personal tragedy shadowed Coles' declining years. In 1862 his youngest son Roberts, aged twenty-three, was killed in Virginia fighting for the Confederacy. The two older children, Mary Roberts Coles and Edward Coles, had remained in Philadelphia. Roberts, however, had spent much of his time in Virginia. In 1860 his cousin Tucker Coles had conveyed to him a plantation adjoining Estouteville, the estate that John Coles II had cut from Enniscorthy for his son John Coles III. It was not unnatural that Roberts, living in Virginia, had cast his lot with the Confederacy.

After years of invalidism, Edward Coles died in Philadelphia on July 7, 1868, at the age of eighty-two. It has been said that with Coles, "principle was the food on which his soul was nourished; in their cooler moments even his bitter enemies were compelled to admit his untarnished integrity."[39]

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[37] T. W. Gilmer to Coles, May 27, 1827.
[38] Alvord, 393-94.
[39] Pease, *Frontier State,* 75.

SOL SMITH RUSSELL, ACTOR FROM JACKSONVILLE

BY BERTHA K. MASON

SOL SMITH RUSSELL was a well-known actor and comedian in the latter third of the nineteenth century. But even then, it was probably not generally known that Jacksonville, Illinois, was his home town. He was born on June 14, 1848, at Brunswick, Missouri, and his family moved to St. Louis while he was still very young. It was in the St. Louis public schools that Sol received most of his early education. He was said to have been a diligent student, but had very little school training. In 1860, when Sol was twelve, his family, consisting of his parents and two brothers, moved to Jacksonville.

In 1857, Sol's older brother, the Rev. Walter Scott Russell, had come to Jacksonville from Missouri to be pastor of the Church of Christ and president of Berean College, a small denominational school. Jacksonville was early known as one of the educational centers west of the Allegheny Mountains, and doubtless Walter Scott Russell urged his father to bring the family here.

Bertha King Mason is a retired Jacksonville school teacher. Her uncle, J. R. H. King, was a great chum of Sol Smith Russell, and other members of the King family belonged to the Christian Church of which Sol's brother was minister. Her connection with the King family, plus an interest in local history, prompted the writing of this paper.

Charles E. Russell, the father, had been a hardware merchant in St. Louis and continued in that trade in Jacksonville. He became an elder in his son's church[1] and, as such, on occasions filled the pulpit.[2] Louisa Russell, the wife of Charles, was the daughter of Edwin Mathews, a music teacher in Cincinnati, Ohio. Another daughter of Mathews married Sol Smith, veteran actor and comedian, and for this uncle by marriage, Sol Smith Russell was named.

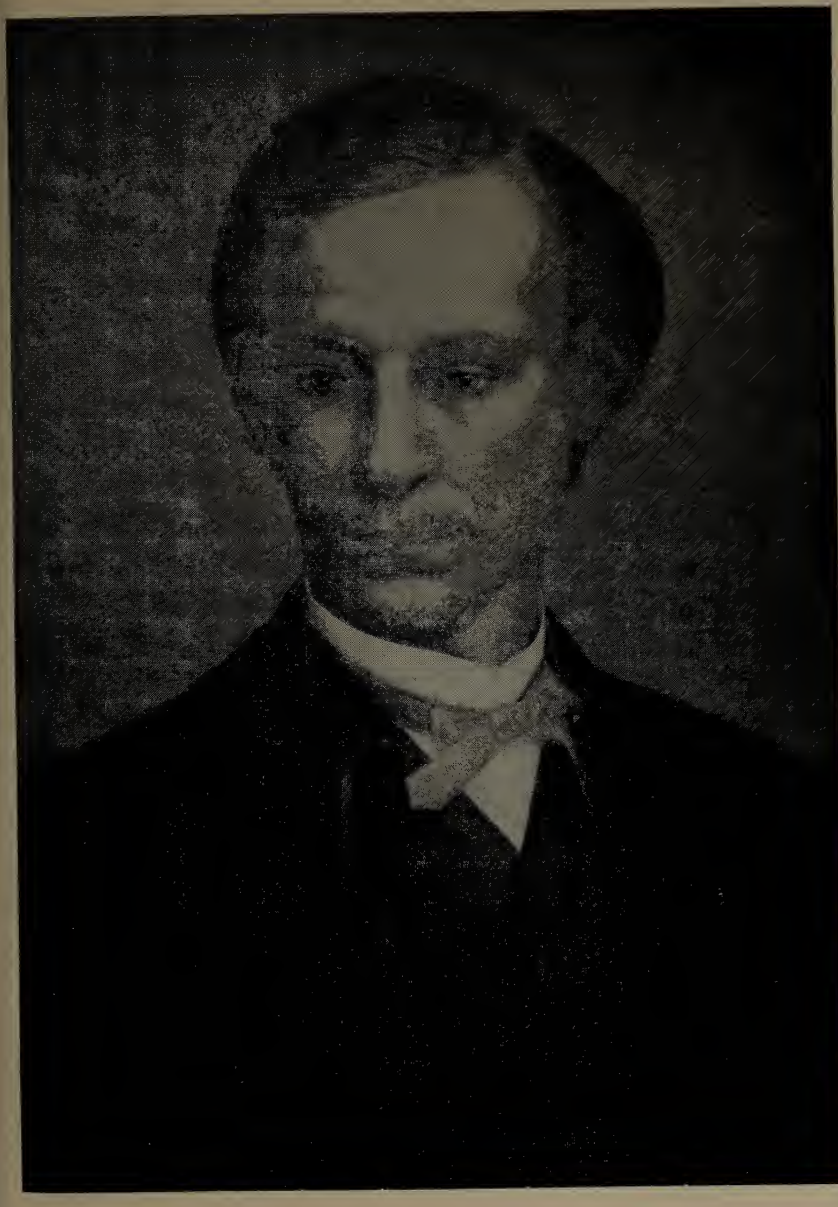
As a small boy Sol Russell showed a fondness for the stage which he had to gratify in a stealthy manner. His parents did not approve of theaters. But his uncle, Sol Smith, encouraged the boy and helped him to see stage performances in St. Louis and to be admitted behind the scenes.

During his few years in Jacksonville, Sol organized a company of young fellows, and they gave theatrical performances in barns or cellars. But Sol was the main attraction as he sang, gave comic impersonations, and played on the bones. It is said that they went to nearby towns giving these performances. My mother has told me that they used to rehearse in her father's barn at the David King home on East State Street, opposite the Illinois State School for the Blind. In my home there is a cupboard that my mother said used to stand in the barn where it served as a wardrobe in which Sol and his friends kept their clothes and other properties for play acting.

My uncle, Joseph R. H. King, who later became a lawyer in Wichita, Kansas, told me that he had belonged to the group. One time he and Sol were in Springfield. They had run away from home and did not have money enough to buy tickets back to Jacksonville on the Wabash train. But they boarded the cars, anyway, and Sol sang and rattled the bones. Uncle Joe walked through the car and took up a collection. They got

[1] Walter Scott Russell was a chaplain in the Union Army during the Civil War, and died at Vicksburg, Mississippi, in 1863.

[2] The writer has the Sunday School class book of the First Christian Church of Jacksonville for this period and it shows that Sol Russell was absent about one Sunday in four during 1861.



SOL SMITH RUSSELL

This picture is from a life-size oil painting made by Ebenezer Mason, Morgan County farmer, which is now owned by his daughters, Bertha K. Mason and Mrs. Fred Seegar, of Jacksonville.

enough to pay their fares and had some extra to take home.

My mother has told me that Sol's mother was always worried when he ran away, and she vowed to punish him when he returned. But when he arrived home from one of these trips he would approach the house in a quiet way, steal up to the window and sing, "Home, Again, Mother," in such a charming and endearing manner that joy replaced anxiety.

When the Civil War began Sol was not yet thirteen years old, but he was zealous in his determination to enlist as a musician. His parents would not give their consent so he ran away and went with the Army as a drummer boy. He was a bright and likable chap and was immediately popular with both men and officers. For months he drummed and marched with a regiment, but was not allowed to enlist because of his youth and the absence of parental consent. Taken ill at Paducah, Kentucky, his condition became serious and the surgeon gave little hope for his recovery. However, he crawled away to a steamboat, and using various expedients managed to get home where his mother nursed him back to health.

His ambition was still to be in the Army. Again he left home and wandered through various Ohio Army camps sharing the life and rations of the men and entertaining them. He bought a stock of goods on credit and peddled it among the soldiers. With his profits he purchased much needed clothing. But when he reached Cairo, Illinois, he was again without money. There he joined a company playing at the Defiance Theater. This opening engagement with a theatrical company struck the keynote of his career—he was able to do almost anything that would amuse an audience. He drummed in the orchestra, sang comic songs, and, because he was so young, slender, and delicate he was often expected to take the part of a girl in the plays. For all this he received $6.00 a week, slept in the theater and paid $3.50 for his board.

During the remainder of the Civil War he worked hard doing all kinds of jobs around the theater. He was quiet and

observing, studied plays and read to improve his talents. He advanced slowly but steadily and filled many engagements in the central part of the United States. S. W. Nichols, former editor of the *Jacksonville Journal,* wrote of the boy's appearance in Jacksonville:

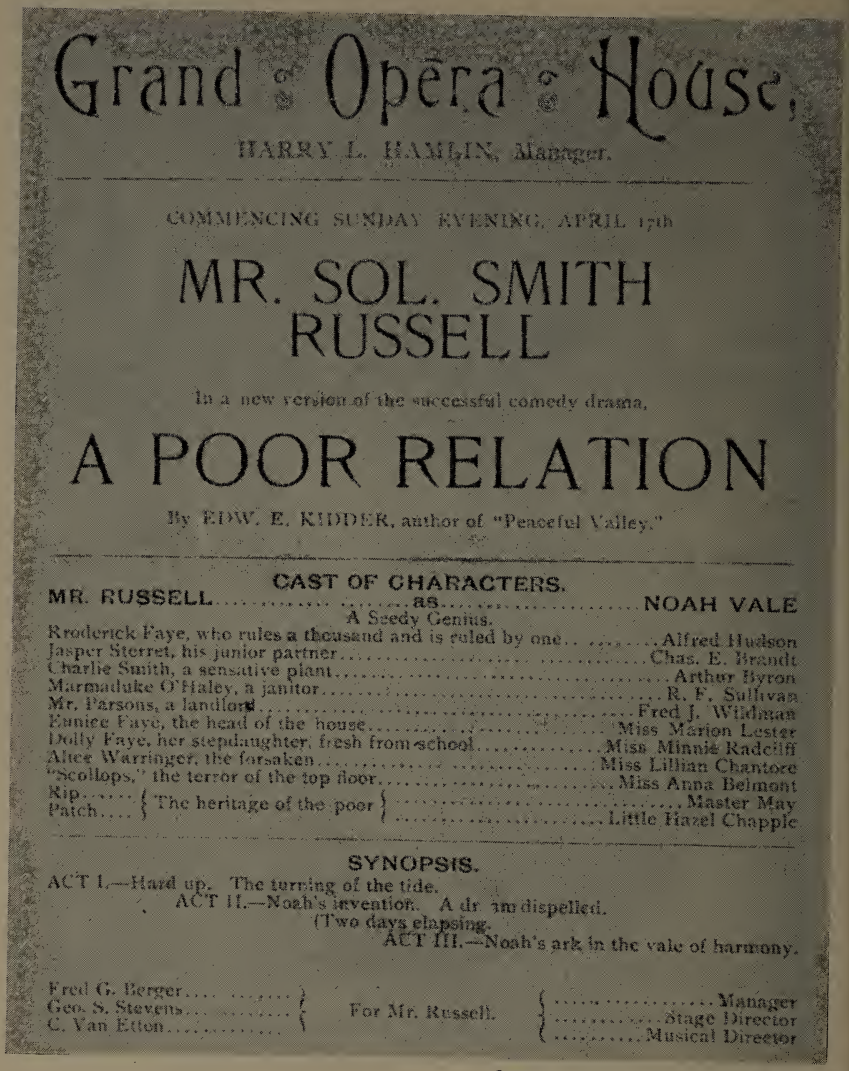
> For sometime a dramatic club had existed and several plays had been successfully presented. At that time Jacob Strawn owned the Strawn block and we had in vain urged him to have constructed a stage with the scenery necessary for regular dramatic presentations. We had organized the "Odean Hall Directory," an affair intended to foster efforts in the dramatic line. . . . We rented the third story of the "Wolcott Building". . . had William Benson paint two or three sets of scenery and opened the place with two short plays, "To Oblige Benson," and "A Decided Case," both of which were a great success. Sol Smith Russell, a Jacksonville boy, was just beginning his career as a monologue entertainer and showed there one night to a full house.[3]

In Cincinnati, at John Bates' National Theater, he sang comic songs between acts. In Bob Carter's Dog Show, on a canal boat, he sang humorous songs and was even called upon to bark with the dogs, and do the work of a mule in helping to propel the boat! In 1863 he sang in St. Louis at the Red, White, and Blue Concert Saloon. In Milwaukee he joined the Peak Family as a singer and went with the Army into Tennessee and Arkansas.

Toward the end of the War Sol began to be associated with some of the better-known actors and actresses of the period. In Nashville, Tennessee, in 1864 and 1865, he was given the place of second comedian and had an opportunity of acting with Frank Drew, Maggie Mitchell, Laura Keene, and others. In the next season he played in Ben De-Bar's Theatre in St. Louis with good actors, among whom were Charles Dillon, Lawrence Barrett, and Sol's cousin, Mark Smith. Russell's work in the East began with the Peak and Berger families. He sang comic songs and delineated peculiar and eccentric characters as well as tender and pathetic ones.

In 1867, in a stock company in Philadelphia, with William

[3] Carl Ellsworth Black and Bessie McLaughlin Black, *From Pioneer to Scientist: the Life Story of Greene Vardiman Black* . . . (St. Paul, Minn., 1940), 129.



Grand Opera House,

HARRY L. HAMLIN, Manager.

COMMENCING SUNDAY EVENING, APRIL 17th

MR. SOL. SMITH RUSSELL

In a new version of the successful comedy drama,

A POOR RELATION

By EDW. E. KIDDER, author of "Peaceful Valley."

CAST OF CHARACTERS.

MR. RUSSELL ..... as ..... NOAH VALE
A Seedy Genius.

Roderick Faye, who rules a thousand and is ruled by one ..... Alfred Hudson
Jasper Sterret, his junior partner ..... Chas. E. Brandt
Charlie Smith, a sensative plant ..... Arthur Byron
Marmaduke O'Haley, a janitor ..... R. F. Sullivan
Mr. Parsons, a landlord ..... Fred J. Wildman
Eunice Faye, the head of the house ..... Miss Marion Lester
Dolly Faye, her stepdaughter, fresh from school ..... Miss Minnie Radcliff
Alice Warringer, the forsaken ..... Miss Lillian Chantore
"Scollops," the terror of the top floor ..... Miss Anna Belmont
Kip ..... } The heritage of the poor } ..... Master May
Patch ..... } ..... Little Hazel Chapple

SYNOPSIS.

ACT I.—Hard up. The turning of the tide.
ACT II.—Noah's invention. A dream dispelled.
(Two days elapsing.
ACT III.—Noah's ark in the vale of harmony.

Fred G. Berger ..... } For Mr. Russell. { ..... Manager
Geo. S. Stevens ..... } { ..... Stage Director
C. Van Etton ..... { ..... Musical Director

Courtesy Chicago Public Library

A CHICAGO PLAYBILL OF 1892

Sinn as manager he had the opportunity to act with James E. Murdock, and later toured New England giving monologues. In 1871 he made his first public appearance in New York at Lina Edwin's Theater. In 1874 he was a great hit in New York

acting in burlesque and in the play, *The Wandering Minstrel.* The same year he worked with Augustin Daly's company playing twenty-six weeks in New York and nineteen more in Boston. Then he went on a tour with the Bergers. They were advertised as the "Berger Family and Sol Smith Russell Concert Troupe." Sol's first wife was Louise Berger and after her death he married Alice M. Adams, daughter of William T. Adams, better known as "Oliver Optic," a writer of boys' stories and editor of *Oliver Optic's Magazine.* By 1880, after almost twenty years of experience on the stage, Russell began to do legitimate acting as a dramatic star. He had a peculiar and original style and was much imitated. During the next twenty years he starred in many plays, among which were: *Edgewood Folks, Felix McKusick, Pa, Bewitched, A Poor Relation, The Tale of a Coat, Peaceful Valley, April Weather,* and *A Bachelor's Romance.* At times he acted old-time favorites such as Dr. Pangloss in *The Heir at Law,* and Bob Acres in *The Rivals.* In the season of 1897-1898, he had a triple bill: *Mr. Valentine's Christmas, The Taming of the Shrew,* and *The Spitfire.*

His last public appearance was in Chicago. During the performance of *The Honorable John Grigsby* he became ill, and on the night of December 18, 1899, was obliged to discontinue the play. It was the first time he had ever been unable to go on with a performance.[4] After a short rest he was back in a revival of *A Poor Relation,* which opened on Christmas Day. But on January 6, 1900, the play closed and he retired to recuperate his health.[5] He died in Washington, D. C., April 28, 1902, after a lingering illness.

Sol Smith Russell had a quaint personality, a quiet dignity, and was often taken for a clergyman. He was tall and slight, big-hearted, sincere, and lovable. Russell had many of the characteristics of his friend James Whitcomb Riley whose poems he loved to recite.

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[4] *Chicago Tribune,* Dec. 19, 1899, p. 5.
[5] *Ibid.,* Jan. 6, 1900, p. 16.

HOW BIG BILL THOMPSON WON CONTROL OF CHICAGO

BY GEORGE SCHOTTENHAMEL

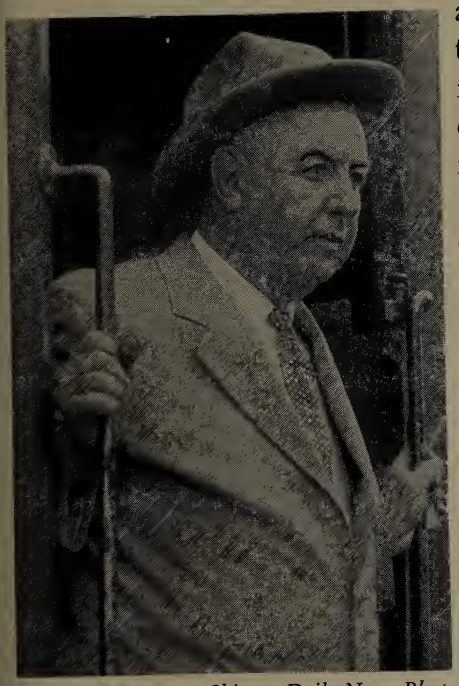
WILLIAM Hale "Big Bill the Builder" Thompson was one of the nation's most interesting politicians of the first quarter of this century. He was a large, fat man with a face that positively beamed joviality. The ten-gallon hat which he always wore in public gave him a spectacular appearance, which he further enhanced with a deep, booming voice that impressed his listeners with the feeling that here, indeed, was a vigorous man, a man with the uncultured charm of the West, a simple, warmhearted friend of the people.[1] In fact he resembled, as much as any man possibly could, the traditional image of a politician as portrayed by the cartoonists.

"Big Bill" was born in Boston in 1869, but was brought to Chicago in his infancy. His family possessed wealth and social position, but Thompson left home at the age of fourteen,

[1] "Why Thompsonism Triumphs in Chicago," *Literary Digest*, Vol. CVIII (March 7, 1931), 7.

George Schottenhamel, a graduate of North Central College, Naperville, received his M. A. degree in history in 1947 at the University of Illinois where he is now writing his doctoral dissertation on "The Civil War Career of General Lewis B. Parsons." From 1948 to 1950 he was an instructor in the Department of History at the University of Tennessee. This paper on "Big Bill" Thompson was written originally for a seminar conducted at the University of Illinois by Professor Frank Freidel.

and then, indeed, became a Westerner.[2] He found a job as an assistant cook in a cow camp, and within five years was operating feeder ranches in Nebraska and Wyoming. He returned to Chicago in 1890 at the time of his father's death, to manage the family interests.[3] These apparently included numerous houses in what later became a Negro area. Thompson engaged in the real estate business, and in 1900 began his political career as an alderman from this district, the Second Ward. During this term he helped in establishing Chicago's first municipal playground.[4] In 1902 he was elected county commissioner and served two years without attracting much attention.[5] For the next twelve years he was out of public office—but was still very much interested in politics.



Chicago Daily News Photo
"BIG BILL" THOMPSON IN 1928

Before the mayoralty campaign of 1911, newspapers frequently mentioned Thompson as a possible candidate, but he did not run. However, he was carefully laying the organizational groundwork, for he was both a member and sponsor of the Republican Club of Illinois, and in March, 1914, became its treasurer. His associates in the club were William Lorimer, long an influential politician on Chicago's West Side and a

[2] "Mr. Lundin and Mr. Thompson, of Chicago," *Literary Digest,* Vol. LXXVI (March 3, 1923), 52.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] William H. Stuart, *The Twenty Incredible Years* (Chicago, 1935), 10.
[5] *Who Was Who in America* (Chicago, 1950), 531.

United States Senator; Dr. John Dill Robertson, who later became Commissioner of Health during Thompson's first term as mayor; Len Small, who was elected Governor of Illinois in 1920 with the strong support of the Thompson machine; Fred Lundin, elected to the Sixty-first Congress in 1908; George F. Harding, who controlled the vote in the Second Ward which contained Chicago's largest Negro population; and James A. Pugh, yachting associate of Thompson and a minor figure in Chicago politics prior to this time.[6]

The Democrats possessed no effective party machine, but controlled the city administration of Chicago 1911-1915, when the Republican Party in the city was split into two factions. One of these was led by Charles S. Deneen, who as Governor from 1905 to 1913 had controlled the patronage of the state, the other by Lorimer and Lundin. In 1914, when the Republican Party was out of office in city, state, and national politics, Thompson entered into a political alliance with Lundin, Harding, and Pugh. The result was an impressive show of strength for Thompson. In December, 1914, some 150,000 people signed a petition circulated by Lundin forces requesting that he run for mayor in the Republican primary of 1915.[7] In the primary he was opposed by the Deneen candidate, Chief Justice Harvey Olson of the Municipal Court, and Alderman Jacob A. Hay. But during the primary battle most of the public's attention was focused on the fight for the Democratic candidacy, between Mayor Carter H. Harrison and Robert A. Sweitzer.

The returns of the Republican mayoralty primary, February 23, 1915, gave Thompson a narrow lead over Olson of 87,333 to 84,825—only 2,508 votes.[8] The effective work of Harding in the Second Ward had resulted in a plurality of

[6] *Chicago Inter Ocean,* March 4, 1914.

[7] James W. Breen, Thompson's executor, who helped circulate the petitions, stated in an interview, Nov. 24, 1950, that they were signed only by those eligible to vote in the primary election.

[8] *Chicago Herald,* March 2, 1915.

more than 6,000 votes for Thompson.[9] This was the first of many times that the Negro ward contributed decisively to his victory. The Republican totals were not so impressive when compared with the Democratic primary vote of Sweitzer, 183,249 and Harrison, 104,063.[10] Fifty per cent more votes were cast in the Democratic than in the Republican primary. The Democrats had a particularly hard fought contest. Bitter enmity existed between Sweitzer and Harrison, and the latter blamed his defeat on his old enemy, Roger Sullivan, gas magnate and leader of the Democratic Party organization, who supported Sweitzer.[11] After his defeat Harrison, goaded by personal antagonism and disregarding party loyalty, threw his support to Thompson.[12] This gave Thompson an increased following among the business leaders who opposed Sweitzer.[13]

In the election of 1915, both the *Daily News* and the *Tribune* opposed Thompson; only the *Chicago Journal* gave him strong backing. Big Bill and his supporters made political capital out of the opposition of what they termed the "trust press" by pointing out the ridiculously low property tax paid by Victor F. Lawson, publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*. The Lawson mansion on Lake Shore Drive was reported to have been taxed only $17.32. Thompson heard about it and sent a man to pay the bill. This receipted tax bill was a high point in the campaign, for the Lawson mansion was worth nearly a million dollars, and the owners of very modest homes frequently paid more than $100 in taxes.[14] Thompson went on to charge that there were many other tax rate errors for each of the four years that Sweitzer had been county clerk:

> I ask Mr. Sweitzer if, during his term as county clerk, his mistakes in the tax rate have not cost every owner of a $3,000 home fifteen dollars more

[9] Stuart, *Twenty Incredible Years*, 12.
[10] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 24, 1915.
[11] Elmer Davis, "Portrait of an Elected Person," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. CLV (July, 1927), 175.
[12] *Chicago Herald*, April 7, 1915.
[13] J. W. Breen, interview, Nov. 24, 1950.
[14] Stuart, *Twenty Incredible Years*, 13.

for taxes than he would have been called upon to pay had the county clerk been as efficient and capable as his backers would now have us believe, and not made these mistakes, and thus caused the tax payers to pay out several millions of dollars they should not have paid except for Mr. Sweitzer's mistakes.[15]

Too late to quell the political storm, the *Daily News* explained that the low tax on the Lawson property was an offset to make up for an exorbitant tax of the year before.[16] This in itself was, of course, an admission of error.

In spite of the mistakes he had committed in assessments, the Democrats attempted to emphasize Sweitzer's ability as a businessman and, in order to obtain part of the foreign vote, pointed out that his ancestry was Irish and German.[17] Republicans accused them also of proclaiming that Sweitzer was Catholic and that since Chicago was half Catholic the Catholic vote alone could give Sweitzer the victory.[18] That aroused the Protestants, and many Protestant ministers came out openly for Thompson. At this time Chicago's great foreign population was acutely conscious of the war raging in Europe, and in the German and Austrian sections of the city handbills adorned with portraits of Kaiser Wilhelm and Emperor Franz Joseph were distributed urging all citizens of central European origin to vote for Sweitzer and Fatherland.[19] Significantly, Sweitzer never repudiated these. Thompson men immediately reprinted the handbills and distributed them through the Polish and Czechoslovakian districts of the city.[20]

At the election on April 7, 1915, Thompson won 25 of the 35 wards by 139,000 votes, the largest majority ever recorded up to that time in any municipal election. Politicians and the newspapers guessed at the reasons for it. Mayor Harrison's explanation was that the Democrats brought in the religious

[15] *Chicago Tribune*, March 28, 1915.
[16] Stuart, *Twenty Incredible Years*, 13.
[17] Davis, "Portrait," *Harper's*, July, 1927, p. 176.
[18] *Chicago Herald*, April 7, 1915.
[19] Davis, "Portrait," *Harper's*, July, 1927, p. 176; *Chicago Herald*, April 3, 1915.
[20] *Chicago Tribune*, April 8, 1915.

issue and circulated the handbills decorated with pictures of the Kaiser and Franz Joseph.[21] The *Literary Digest* claimed that the women's vote—of which he had received 63 per cent[22]—had elected him, but the *Digest* overlooked the fact that he also received 60 per cent of the men's votes.[23] Will Rogers commented, "They was trying to beat Bill with the better element vote. The trouble with Chicago is that there ain't much better element." At first glance this looks as if it might have been true, but the *Tribune,* which certainly did not favor Thompson, polled the professors at the University of Chicago and tallied 81 votes for Thompson to 17 for Sweitzer.[24]

An analysis of the composition of the wards which gave Thompson a large plurality over Sweitzer tells more.[25] The two large Negro wards[26] gave Big Bill approximately 17,000 votes more than his opponent.[27] Five wards with large native white and foreign groups, in which Swedes and Germans predominated, returned very large pluralities for Thompson.[28] Since in these wards the Swedish, who favored Thompson, and the Germans, who supported Sweitzer, were about equal in number, the votes of one cancelled those of the other. This left the large native white vote as the decisive factor. In any event the foreigners in these wards were not numerous enough in comparison to the native whites to have been responsible for those large pluralities; therefore, even the native whites voted for Thompson.

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An analysis of the wards that favored Sweitzer substantiates these conclusions. Five wards with very small numbers of native whites and large foreign sections dominated by Ger-

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[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Literary Digest,* Vol. L (April 17, 1915), 864.
[23] *Chicago Tribune,* April 7, 1915.
[24] *Ibid.,* April 1, 1915.
[25] For population figures see *Fourteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1922), Vol. III, 274-76.
[26] In 1915 Wards 2 and 3 contained the largest Negro populations in Chicago.
[27] *First Annual Report of the Board of Election Commissioners, City of Chicago* (Chicago, 1915), 150-55.
[28] Wards, 23, 25, 27, 31 and 32.

mans, Italians, Polish, and Irish each gave Sweitzer large pluralities.[29] Obviously it was Sweitzer who was supported by most of the foreigners in the election of 1915. Thompson won with the aid of the native whites, the Swedish and the Negroes. Undoubtedly issues such as the war in Europe and the resultant depression had a strong influence on the native white vote;[30] nevertheless the defection of Harrison was the decisive factor in Thompson's victory.[31]

After the election, the war in Europe occupied more and more space on the front pages of Chicago's newspapers, and long before war was declared in 1917 many Chicagoans vociferously demanded America's entry on the side of the Allies. In general, the press denounced those who were not in favor of war and accused them of being sympathetic to the German cause. Therefore these people very seldom announced their views in the papers. Not one to suppress his feelings, Thompson spoke out openly for continued neutrality. He publicly stated that while the nation should be prepared, "we should carefully guard against any attempt to convert this laudable and patriotic movement into a hysterical demand that we depart from the walks of peace to engage in war."[32] After America's entrance into the war, he proclaimed, "I am unalterably opposed to a draft for the purpose of forcing our young men into the trenches of Europe."[33]

Thompson's stand made him the most bitterly attacked man in Chicago politics. He was openly accused of treason and many prominent Chicagoans demanded that he be dismissed from office and given a long jail sentence.[34] During the war, Chicagoans of German extraction faced trying times, which would have been far more difficult were it not for their

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[29] Wards 1, 4, 5, 19 and 30.
[30] "Chicago Versus Its Mayor," *Literary Digest,* Vol. LV (July 7, 1917), 21.
[31] Davis, "Portrait," *Harper's,* July, 1927, p. 176.
[32] *Chicago Herald,* April 2, 1917.
[33] *Ibid.,* May 12, 1917.
[34] *Chicago Tribune,* April 29, 1917.

mayor.[35] This was the period in which he won the votes of Chicago's German population, which formed an important part of his support in the 1919 election.[36]

In 1919, as four years earlier, Thompson's chief opposition came from the Democratic candidate, Sweitzer. Although this time Thompson had no Carter Harrison to throw Democratic votes to him, he was aided by the entrance into the race of an independent Democrat, State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne. Thompson campaigned on national problems. He characteristically stated that, "Industrial depression, commercial stagnation, enforced idleness of American workingmen, high cost of living, and high federal taxation brought about by national Democratic misrule and mismanagement have now become acute local issues."[37]

Thompson's handbills announcing political meetings carried the slogan: "By voting for Mayor William Thompson you fight the commercialized newspapers who cheat the school children and you."[38] His dislike for the press had a strong foundation. Of the leading papers, only those owned by William Randolph Hearst were not actively working against him, and Hearst had come out in support of Hoyne. On March 25 the *Tribune* charged,

> City Hall cowpunchers, proficient only in the art of delivering their precincts, have used their trusty lariats to rope places on the city payroll as experts in real estate and in other specialized subjects. Kantor was one of the chief spellbinders in the Thompson campaign four years ago. . . . He experted in real estate for the city in 1915 and 1916 and dragged down $3,585 for these services. . . . Another friend . . . was William A. Bitter, leader of the Thompson forces in the third ward and one of the publicity managers of the Thompson campaign in 1915. For legal expert services Mr. Bitter drew $12,000 according to the city treasurer's books. . . . The cost of political "experts" to Chicago in the last four years was approximately $1,000,000.[39]

[35] "Why Thompsonism Triumphs in Chicago," *Literary Digest,* Vol. CVIII (March 7, 1931), 7.
[36] Nels Anderson, "Democracy in Chicago," *Century,* Vol. CXV (Nov., 1927), 77.
[37] *Chicago Tribune,* March 15, 1919.
[38] *Ibid.,* March 12, 1919.
[39] *Ibid.,* March 25, 1919.

After this unfavorable publicity most of the important businessmen came out in favor of Sweitzer; Thompson countered by labeling them "tax dodgers, possessors of swollen fortunes and robbers of the working classes."[40] He also reminded the voters that "As Chicago goes April 1 so will go the nation in 1920. Do you want Democratic rule and bread lines or Republicanism and prosperity?"[41]

The election took place on April 1, 1919, with the returns showing Thompson the winner by 259,828 to Sweitzer's 238,206. But Hoyne, running as an independent Democrat, polled 110,851 votes. It is likely that if Hoyne had not run, Sweitzer would have been the victor. As it was, Sweitzer won in nineteen out of the thirty-five wards.

The election returns show that the Negro Second Ward with a total population of 68,000 people gave Thompson his largest plurality over his chief opponent—approximately 12,000 votes.[42] Three wards returned pluralities of from 6,000 to 8,000 votes in favor of Thompson and five went to him by from 2,500 to 4,000 votes. All of these were densely populated, each contained large numbers of native whites, and the Germans and Swedes dominated in their foreign districts.

None of the wards which favored Sweitzer gave him a larger plurality than 4,000 votes. Of the eight wards in which Sweitzer obtained from 2,500 to 4,000 votes more than his chief opponent, only two had large populations of 80,000 to 90,000. The remainder ranged from 40,000 to 60,000 in size.

Of the eight wards which gave Sweitzer large pluralities, five had small native white populations. The huge foreign districts in these five wards were either Russian, Polish, Czechoslovakian, or combinations of the three. The native white elements in these wards were in no case large enough to give

[40] *Ibid.*, March 26, 1919.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Election figures have been computed from the returns in the *Chicago Daily News Almanac and Year Book* (Chicago, 1920), 847-48. Statistics for population characteristics of the wards are from *Fourteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1922), Vol. III, 274-76.

Sweitzer a plurality, either alone or in combination with minor groups of the foreign population; therefore, large majorities of the Polish, Russian and Czech votes went to Sweitzer. These groups also favored the League of Nations, which Thompson strongly opposed. The influence of the League on the foreign voter was important in this election.[43]

It is true that Thompson tried to ingratiate himself with Polish-Americans by including in his speeches references to Polish heroes of the American Revolution.[44] However, his speeches and actions in favor of the German people of Chicago, coupled with his refusal to give wholehearted support to the war effort, counted heavily against him. Wards that favored Thompson usually had large native white groups combined with large German and Swedish foreign populations. The Swedish votes were due to the influence of Fred Lundin, "The Poor Swede," who was allied with Thompson.[45] The Negroes favored Thompson because he always went out of his way to appear friendly to them.

This was 1919; the war was over, and becoming more and more unpopular. Thompson was opposed to the League of Nations which also was becoming unpopular. Here was a mayor who had demonstrated his leadership and proved that he was a friend of the workingman by settling the streetcar strike.[46] It was during his administration that Chicago began its building program which created work for people, and instilled in them a sense of pride in having an active part in the development of Chicago as a beautiful city.[47] Here, also, was a man who radiated vitality, joviality, and friendliness; a man whose campaign speeches were always better than a show—sometimes more like a three-ring circus! Prominent newspapers, it is true,

[43] "William Hale Thompson," *Outlook*, Vol. CXXI (April 16, 1919), 636.
[44] "Why Thompsonism Triumphs in Chicago," *Literary Digest*, Vol. CVIII (March 7, 1931), 7.
[45] "Mr. Lundin and Mr. Thompson of Chicago," *Literary Digest*, Vol. LXXVI (March 3, 1923), 52.
[46] Davis, "Portrait," *Harper's*, July, 1927, p. 176.
[47] Anderson, "Democracy," *Century*, Nov., 1927, pp. 77-78.

opposed him.[48] But the people of Chicago have always had a deep-seated distrust for the large papers, considering them as being aligned with the utilities and the wealthy.

Thompson's major opponents had no outstanding attributes that would draw votes. Hoyne had the support of the press but he was an independent Democrat and did not possess a colorful personality. Sweitzer everyone knew as the protégé of Sullivan, the gas magnate. These were the candidates favored by the wealthier classes, and that in itself was sufficient to cause the masses to turn from them and vote for Thompson, who for four years had portrayed himself as a friend of the worker. Thompson at the same time had built up an effective machine which delivered votes to him in 1919. This, combined with the fact that his Democratic opposition was divided, gave him the victory.

After the election, Big Bill continued to entrench himself in the mayor's office. However, in 1921 a controversy occurred between him and Robert C. Crowe, the state's attorney, whom Thompson had helped elect to office. Crowe stated, "I broke with Thompson because he was interfering with my sworn duty to expose and prosecute hellholes of prostitution and commercialized vice."[49] In reality the quarrel came about because both men were politically ambitious and Crowe felt that Thompson's police force was competing with his office instead of aiding it. As the primary of 1923 approached, there was much discussion over whether or not the mayor would run for re-election, and on January 27, 1923, Thompson stated that under no circumstances would he run.[50]

It was known that the Mayor's health had been poor for some time and for much of the period while the primaries were in progress he did take treatments at a sanitarium outside of the state.[51] However, his refusal to run for re-election may

[48] "Chicago Versus Its Mayor," *Literary Digest*, July 7, 1917, p. 21.
[49] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 12, 1927.
[50] *Ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1923.
[51] *Ibid.*

also have been induced by the unlikelihood of defeating a strong Democratic candidate since the defection of Crowe and Lundin greatly weakened his forces.[52] Thompson referred to this when he said, "My friends have crucified me."[53]

Although temporarily retired from politics, Big Bill by no means retreated from the public eye. He had a sailing yawl with an auxiliary engine constructed and named it the *Big Bill.* On its bow the ship carried a carved oaken image of Thompson's head. Ostensibly the ship was designed to carry out a scientific mission to Borneo. Thompson offered to bet anyone $25,000 that the ship would complete the trip to Borneo and bring back tree-climbing fish. Immediately the proposed trip gained voluminous publicity in the papers, especially when Thompson announced that the route to Borneo would be via the Chicago Drainage Canal and the Mississippi River. The *Big Bill* did get as far as the Panama Canal, but long before that Thompson was back in Chicago.[54] His supporters claimed that he had arranged the trip to gain publicity for the Illinois Waterway. It adroitly gained valuable publicity for Thompson as well. Incidentally, Thompson did not bear the ship's $25,000 initial cost alone. Lorimer and Harding, his political allies, each paid a third.[55]

In the meantime the administration of Chicago's new mayor, William Dever, was gaining notoriety of a far different nature. A great outburst of violence resulted from Dever's attempts to enforce prohibition. Homicides, machine gunnings and gang warfare besmirched the administration of the man whom the newspapers proclaimed as one of Chicago's best mayors.

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[52] The break between Lundin and Thompson came after the latter appointed C. E. Fitzmorris, his secretary, as chief of police. Lundin objected to this appointment because it completely ignored the regular city hall organization which he himself controlled and which he believed to be essential to the maintenance of power. Lundin had always believed that his shrewd political management had been responsible for Thompson's rise in politics and became angered when the Mayor acted without consulting him.

[53] Davis, "Portrait," *Harper's*, July, 1927, p. 178.

[54] *Ibid.*, 180-81.

[55] Stuart, *Twenty Incredible Years*, 206.

Early in 1927 Thompson entered the Republican mayoralty primary running on his earlier record,[56] national issues and his attempt to make Chicago the most prosperous city in the country by so dramatically advertising the Illinois Waterway. However, in order to attract the foreign vote, he devoted the major part of his campaign efforts to prohibition, emphatically promising to ". . . fire any cop who walks into a man's house without a warrant and fans the mattress for a pint flask,"[57] and to his anti-British crusade, in which he threatened to "bust King George on the snoot." This made Thompson famous throughout America. It arose from his charge that Chicago's public schools were using "treason tainted histories" in order to instill in the minds of children the British instead of the American version of the Revolutionary War. He stated that in accomplishing this purpose the schools were treating Polish, German, Irish and French heroes of American history with the "contempt of silence and the venom of propaganda."[58] These tactics were successful. Thompson's total of 342,337 votes won the Republican mayoralty primary by a plurality of 180,390. Mayor Dever, on the other hand, won the Democratic primary with only 149,453 votes. This was less than Thompson's plurality in the Republican primary.

In 1921 when he broke with State's Attorney Crowe Thompson had stated, "If you ever find me on the same platform with Bob Crowe you will know Bill Thompson has turned crook."[59] On the face of things it would appear that the two would be bitter enemies forevermore; however, Thompson needed Crowe's support, and Crowe needed his, and so the 1927 campaign found the two aligned together. However he lacked the support of his former campaign manager,

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[56] "What Big Bill's Victory Means," *Literary Digest*, Vol. XCIII (April 16, 1927), 6.

[57] Davis, "Portrait," *Harper's*, July, 1927, p. 182.

[58] "Shall We Shatter the Nation's Idols in School Histories?" *Current History*, Vol. LXXVII (Feb., 1928), 619. See also "King George Defied by Big Bill," *Literary Digest*, Vol. XCV (Nov. 6, 1927), 6.

[59] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 27, 1923.

Lundin, who was running Dr. John Dill Robertson as a Republican Independent candidate for mayor.

In this election Thompson depended heavily upon the Negro vote, which he had cultivated since 1900.[60] He still had effective workers in the Negro wards who were on the job at all times. The *Chicago Defender,* referring to his Second Ward leader, Harding, said:

> He owns in this ward two or three hundred houses. When he was Alderman for ten years our Race could always reach him at his home and he often at night in the cold got up and went to the police station and in the mornings to the courts to bail our people out and to secure their release and he never charged a single cent.[61]

Morris Eller, boss of a West Side ward, the population of which was largely Negro and immigrant, testified,

> The people in my ward are not prosperous . . . they need help. Poor people can not afford jury service. I get them off. I get peddler permits free. I send them coal in winter. When they get into trouble, maybe for disorderly [conduct], maybe for a clothes line fight, I arrange their bonds. We're there 365 days a year. When election day comes around we mark a specimen ballot. Our precinct committeemen and their assistants carry them out. Naturally we get a unanimous response.[62]

Just such services as these formed the foundation of the Thompson machine. During this period the Republican Party and Thompson controlled the votes of Chicago's poor by appearing before the people as real friends in hours of trouble.[63] The only limitation to the party's benevolence was money.

In this campaign the Democrats inadvertently helped Thompson by attempting to arouse racial enmity. The *Chicago Defender* declared:

> "All the negroes are for William Hale Thompson. Will you vote on the level of the Negro?" This is the battle cry, printed on plain white cards, scattered over the north side this week, with which opponents of Big Bill,

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[60] For an excellent account of Thompson's relations with the Negroes, see Harold F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians* (Chicago, 1935).

[61] *Chicago Defender,* Feb. 16, 1928.

[62] Lewis W. Hunt, "Rise and Fall of Thompson," *Outlook,* Vol. CLVII (April 22, 1931), 565.

[63] Harold F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937), 2-5.

waged their campaign for the mayor's chair. It was a campaign based on the most dangerous appeal a candidate could make—the appeal to the evil smoldering passions of hate.[64]

The Democrats did not succeed in this attempt to divide the vote on racial lines, because Chicago's Negro population was concentrated in certain areas and not scattered throughout the city. Thompson campaigned for the German vote, saying,

> They called me pro-German during the war because I kept my oath to protect the people. If you make a mistake and vote for some one who doesn't care for you or his oath to God, you'll have to pay the penalty. If I'm elected mayor I'll build the largest town hall in the world where your German choruses of 25,000 voices can sing as they never have before.[65]

Along with their attempts to obtain the votes of the Negroes the politicians relied on the well worn name calling technique. Dever was running on the slogan of "The best mayor Chicago ever had" and "Dever for Decency." George Brennan who was supporting Dever said, "All the hoodlums are for Thompson."[66] This gave Thompson a chance to stigmatize the Democrats as aristocrats and to remind his audience that the Democrats considered them hoodlums.[67]

The main issue in the campaign, however, was the open vice and gang murders of Dever's term. Thompson promised to reform the police department by relieving it of prohibition enforcement duties "and putting the patrolmen back on their beats where they belong." This appealed to most residents of Chicago, particularly to the foreign elements—the Czechoslovaks, Germans, and Italians—who detested prohibition.

In the election Thompson carried 28 of the 50 wards[68] and was elected by 515,716 votes to Dever's 432,678,[69] a majority of 83,038 votes. The three wards in Chicago's Black Belt went

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[64] *Chicago Defender,* March 26, 1927.
[65] *Ibid.,* March 28, 1927.
[66] Davis, "Portrait," *Harper's,* July, 1927, p. 183.
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] Chicago was redistricted into fifty wards in 1920.
[69] Election figures from *Chicago Daily News Almanac and Year Book* (Chicago, 1928), 762. Estimates of nationality and racial composition of ward populations were made from a comparison of maps in Gosnell, *Machine Politics,* 31, 103.

to Thompson by more than 59,000 votes.[70] He also gained huge margins over Dever in six wards which contained large foreign sections dominated by the Swedish, Russians, Poles, Italians and Germans.[71] Dever gained large majorities in only two wards, and these comprised districts where native whites of better than average financial circumstances were predominant.[72]

After Thompson's election to his third term, the conditions of open vice, gang violence and murders, which he labeled as so deplorable when Dever was mayor, continued unabated.[73] By 1929 Al Capone had become the leader of Chicago's organized crime, and controlled the sale of liquor to most of the city's 10,000 speak-easies. The St. Valentine's Day Massacre of that year was one of the most gruesome and the most publicized of all of Chicago's gang murders.

If Dever had failed to subdue Chicago's gang element, at least he had not been associated with it.[74] However, Thompson's underlings sometimes ran into legal difficulties. Dan Serritella, a Capone lieutenant, was Chicago's city sealer during Thompson's third term. Just before the 1931 elections Serritella was charged with failure to prosecute merchants who defrauded customers by short weight sales. It was estimated that this racket alone had cost Chicago people $54,000,000.[75] When the mayoralty campaign of 1931 approached a climax, Chicago papers ran articles exposing Capone's contributions to the Republicans. The Hawthorne Club, through which Capone interests operated a race track, contributed $65,000 to help Thompson.[76] This club was outside of Chicago and therefore

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[70] Wards 2, 3 and 4.
[71] Wards 28, 35, 36, 40, 41, and 47.
[72] Wards 1 and 49.
[73] Hunt, "Rise and Fall of Thompsonism," *Outlook*, April 22, 1931, p. 564.
[74] "Chicago's Fighting Judge Tackles Big Bill," *Literary Digest*, Vol. CVIII (Jan. 17, 1931), 9.
[75] *Chicago Daily News*, April 1, 2, 1931. The Appellate Court reversed the conviction secured in the lower court, *People* v. *Serritella*, Illinois Appellate Court (1933), 616.
[76] *Chicago Tribune*, March 17, 1931.

not interested solely in its own protection. Frank J. Loesch of the National and Chicago Crime Commission charged, "Capone was to have undisputed right to run houses of prostitution and gambling houses, to operate slot machines, and to control the sale of beer and booze in all the territory of the city south of Madison Street."[77] However, the papers did not point out that Capone also contributed to the Democrats.[78]

In addition Thompson had to cope with the depression. The city of Chicago was in dire financial straits.[79] While people had difficulty in paying taxes, they had only to glance at a newspaper to read of inefficiency and corruption in their city government. To cite one example, the Thompson administration awarded the Ogden Avenue widening project to the Great Lakes Company despite the fact that the Central Dredging Company submitted a bid $1,050,332 less than that of Great Lakes. On two river straightening projects this same company won both contracts, although on the first its bid was $992,000 above the low bidder and on the second, $204,805 above the low bidder.[80] The *Tribune* sued the Mayor for accepting money from the so-called real estate experts. Although the court later decided that the city had been defrauded by these experts, it held that there was insufficient evidence to show that Thompson had benefited directly.

Newspapers also charged that Samuel Insull, builder of an unstable utilities empire, contributed funds to the Thompson campaign. Samuel Ettelson, Thompson's corporation counsel, was Insull's personal and political attorney. Insull never admitted or denied that he had contributed funds to Thompson.[81] According to the *Tribune,* "When the traction case was settled during Thompson's third term Insull was given a perpetual franchise that could not be terminated even for misuse,

[77] *Ibid.,* Feb. 17, 1931.
[78] Gosnell, *Machine Politics,* 5.
[79] *Ibid.,* 2-5.
[80] *Chicago Tribune,* Dec. 31, 1930.
[81] *Ibid.,* Feb. 18, 1937.

non use or mal use."[82] Like Capone, Insull found it prudent to contribute to both the Republican and Democratic parties.[83]

When Thompson entered the campaign of 1931, he was embarrassed by organized crime just as Dever had been in 1927.[84] This worked to his advantage in 1927, but not in 1931. He realized that he would have a very difficult battle to wage.

On February 8, 1931, at the height of the primary campaign, the most damaging of all the court actions brought against Thompson was filed. It charged him with failure to disburse $139,000 raised on behalf of Mississippi Valley flood victims, and claimed that not more than $18,500 went to the relief of the sufferers.[85] (In 1938 the court forced Thompson to return approximately $80,000 of this money.)

Nevertheless, Thompson won the Republican primary by 68,218 votes, while Anton J. Cermak gained the Democratic nomination by 225,000. The total Republican vote, however, was 635,000, compared to 244,000 for the Democrats.[86] This could have been interpreted as a hopeful sign had not Thompson been deserted by his old allies—Oscar F. Nelson, his city council floor leader, Harding, Pike, and also the regular county organization headed by County Chairman Bernard Snow.

Although Big Bill carried on the entertaining type of campaign for which he was noted,[87] he found it difficult to bring any serious personal charges against his adversary because Cermak, unlike his other opponents, had taken little previous part in politics. He had been in charge of the Cook County forest preserves, but there a committee of citizens con-

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[82] *Ibid.*

[83] Frank L. Smith, chairman of the Illinois Public Utilities Commission, was supported by the Thompson machine in three different election campaigns. In 1926, when Smith was elected to the United States Senate, it refused to seat him because of the use of excessive campaign funds. A large portion of those funds was contributed by Samuel Insull and other officials of public utilities operating in Illinois. See Gosnell, *Negro Politicians,* 41-42.

[84] "Big Bill Thompson's Smashing Defeat," *Literary Digest,* Vol. XCVII (April 21, 1928), 5-6.

[85] *Chicago Tribune,* Feb. 8, 1931.

[86] *Chicago Daily News Almanac and Year Book* (Chicago, 1932), 699-700.

[87] Hunt, "Rise and Fall of Thompsonism," *Outlook,* April 22, 1931, p. 564.

trolled his decisions. Cermak ran on a campaign to clean up Chicago and to reduce taxes. He won the election by a majority of 194,267. Thompson carried only five of the fifty wards, and in one of these, a ward with a large Italian population, he won by only 300 votes.[88] In 1927 it went to him by 4,000 votes. Of the remaining four wards, three contained large Negro populations and the other was almost entirely composed of Negroes and Italians.[89] However the huge margins in each were gone.[90] Even the Negroes did not support him as strongly in 1931 as in previous elections and neither the Poles nor the Germans voted for Big Bill in 1931. He lost a Polish ward that had gone to him by almost 5,000 votes in 1927,[91] and a German one[92] that had given him a plurality of 5,000.[93] Thompson's machine was so decisively vanquished in this mayoralty election that only one of the fourteen aldermanic candidates who openly supported him was elected.

Thompson attempted to regroup his forces after his defeat. He succeeded in nominating Len Small as a candidate for governor in the Republican primary of 1932, but in the election Small's Cook County votes ran far behind those of Henry Horner, the winner of the Democratic primary. With this conclusive failure the Thompson machine was shattered beyond recognition, and only scattered portions of it remained during the Kelly-Nash regime.[94]

What factors had led to Thompson's defeat in 1931? He campaigned on lines that had always been successful before, but issues such as the "full dinner pail" and prosperity could be used by his Democratic opponents to far better advantage,

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[88] Election figures from *Chicago Daily News Almanac and Year Book* (Chicago, 1932), 704. Estimates of nationality and racial composition of ward populations were made from a comparison of maps in Gosnell, *Machine Politics,* 31, 103.

[89] The five wards were 2, 3, 4, 20 and 28.

[90] Ward 20 went to Thompson by about 1,000 votes in 1931 and by 3,600 in 1927. He won Wards 2, 3 and 4 by 11,000 to 16,000 votes in 1931, and 14,000 to 24,000 in 1927.

[91] Ward 35.

[92] Ward 47.

[93] *Chicago Daily News Almanac and Year Book* (Chicago, 1933), 735.

[94] Gosnell, *Machine Politics,* 11, 12.

since they had not been in office when the depression began. Even the title of "Big Bill the Builder" was more a handicap than a help at this time because people were acutely conscious of their taxes. His theatrical campaign stunts and bizarre statements had formerly caused him to be regarded as a "clown" but a good fellow. In a time of depression no one wanted a clown in charge of the city government.

Was the foreign element responsible for any of Thompson's victories? Never successful in uniting all the foreign groups behind him, he won his elections with considerable aid from the native whites. The Negroes were the only group that gave him steady support throughout his career. But the Negroes were not numerous enough to have elected Thompson either alone or with the foreign elements who voted for him at any one time. They, like the foreign groups, only contributed in part to his victories.

Thompson exemplified the politician who gained and held office because the poverty of many people enabled political bosses to control their votes and to select candidates for their own and not the voters' welfare. In all three of his successful elections people voted for Thompson essentially because of the weaknesses of his Democratic opposition. His first opponent, Sweitzer, was known to be allied with the public utilities, and in 1919 had the additional handicap of competing for the Democratic vote with Hoyne, the independent Democratic candidate. In 1927 Dever, who ran on a campaign of "Dever and Decency" despite four years of rampant crime in Chicago, would have been easy opposition for any candidate. "Big Bill the Builder" had constructed a political machine which broke down when faced with a real test. By no means as powerful as its critics maintained, it fell victim to party strife and the depression.

A Busy Day at the Old Market House in Galena

THE GALENA MARKET HOUSE, OLDEST IN THE MIDWEST

BY VIRGINIA R. CARROLL

DAY was just breaking on June 27, 1846, but already the square around the new Market House was crowded with wagons and carts. Within, the stalls and shambles were alive with matrons in hoop skirts and shawls. "The very sight of the vegetables was sufficient to give a man an appetite," said the editor of the *Galena Gazette*. "Here were beets, carrots, turnips, potatoes, onions, peas, beans, radishes, cabbages, lettuce . . . also a goodly quantity of fresh butter, raspberries and currants . . . also meat and sausage." Outside, heavily-clad farmers and rough-looking lead miners in ocher-stained flannel shirts and leather boots elbowed one another to gaze at the medley of provisions for sale. For a daily fee a farmer or gardener could park his cart outside the Market House. Here the noise and confusion and haggling over prices indicated a brisk business. Stalls in the two wings of the building cost $25 yearly, but in the main building they were auctioned off, with a minimum of $50 set by the town council.

Lead deposits near Galena had excited the French and Indians alike for a century and a half before this first market

Virginia R. Carroll "adopted" Galena as her home town four years ago and since then has become greatly interested in preserving its historical landmarks. She is sales manager of the Hotel DeSoto and is a director of the Chamber of Commerce and the Galena Historical Museum.

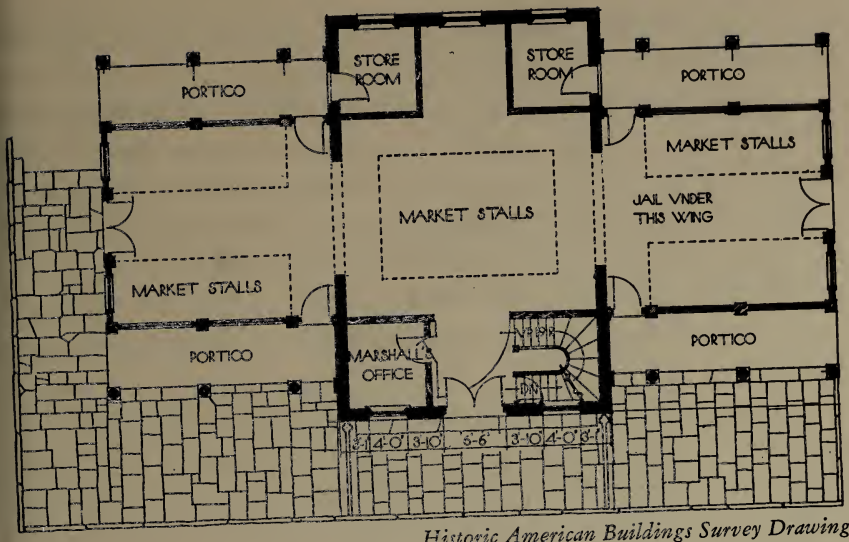
day. Pierre Charles Le Sueur is credited with the discovery of the Fever River in 1700 which he called the River of Mines. But it took steam transportation on the river to open the region in 1823 and Galena, named in 1826, grew into a city of some 3,000 in 1845 when the area produced 54,500,000 pounds of lead. This was eighty-three per cent of the country's output and truly Galena was "The First American Klondike."

Galena's Market House was a success from the start, and until 1910 produce of all kinds was sold to Galena housewives, who came to haggle over prices, complain of short weights, greet their friends and exchange the latest gossip.

A lord in his miniature domain, the market master rang the bell opening the market at dawn and closing it at 10 A. M., rented the stalls, enforced the city ordinances on sanitation, checked the scales, and confiscated and sold below-standard produce and meat.

For a salary of $350 a year, J. P. De Zoya, first market master, enforced "order and decorum," decided all disputes between buyer and seller, thoroughly cleansed and swept the market each morning, and removed all persons engaged in combinations to raise the price of provisions. The city ordinance provided that "all provisions whatsoever, brought by land or water, to the city for sale, except all kinds of grain, flour, corn meal and bread, butter in firkins, weighing over fifteen pounds nett, cheese, bacon, salt fish, beef and pork by the barrel or large cask, live cattle, sheep or hogs, shall be sold at the public market place of the city during market hours." In a further effort to force the seller to peddle his meat at the Market House, where the city could collect a fee, beef could not be sold in quantities less than one-quarter of a carcass to any home in Galena. Pork, mutton and veal could not be sold in less than the whole carcass.

No grocer, dealer in provisions, or other person, could buy wholesale at the Market House. No butchering was permitted



Historic American Buildings Survey Drawing

FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF THE GALENA MARKET HOUSE

The two-story main building is 42 feet, 4 inches by 28 feet, 4 inches. The wings are 24 feet, 3 inches by 22 feet, 4 inches. The four porticoes are 7 feet wide by 24 feet, 3 inches long. The front entrance faces the northwest and on the second floor there is a large meeting room, once used as a city council chamber, and a small office above the "marshall's office."

and no liquor, cakes, candy or pastry of any kind could be sold. Fines of "not less than five nor more than fifty dollars" were to be levied for violation of any of the thirty-five sections of the market ordinance.

Galena's Market House was unique in two things—it was open every day in the year, and on the second floor was an auditorium. Here the city council met and transacted the affairs of a city of 14,000 at its peak in 1858, and in the hall gathered all manner of public meetings. It was the forerunner of the modern community center.

Galena has declined to a population of 5,000, but is filled with reminders of its past. There are more fine examples of early Illinois architecture than in any other one place. The roaring life of the mines and the river trade brought wealth

and "Quality Hill" grew up, a blending of new rich with an aristocracy of Southern and Eastern origin.

Built of brick the main building of the Market House is 28 by 42 feet. The wooden wings make the overall length nearly 77 feet. Erected by Henry J. Stouffer, the "flagging and curbing" of Galena limestone around the building was let in a separate contract. Part of the funds ($2,500) were secured by the sale of stock at five dollars a share. Bearing eight per cent interest these certificates were liquidated from the rental of stalls.

Under the Market House was the town calaboose of two whitewashed cells. The jail was moved to a corner of the first floor after a prisoner had been drowned by a sudden overflow of the Fever River.

Recognized as an unusual building, the Historic American Buildings Survey made detailed plans of the structure. Simple in its lines, the Market House today stands deserted near the levee, ravaged by time and human use. The second floor ceased to be used by the city council in 1936, and the fire department also sought other quarters.

In 1947 the property was deeded to the state of Illinois. Today, its windows boarded, the old Market House stands desolate and forgotten except by historically-minded folk who are interested in its restoration.

GALENA'S NEPTUNES

The firemen poised for a run with their hose cart on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* were members of the Neptune Fire Company No. 2 of Galena. The building in the background is the Old Market House, where the company was housed for many years. It is thought that the picture was taken about 1888. Galena's present-day volunteer fire department has a long history behind it—the town had a fire company before it had a mayor. In addition to the Neptune unit, some of the earlier companies were the Cataract Engine Company, Relief Fire Company, Mechanics' Fire Company, and Galena Fire Association.

THE MURDER OF ERIC JANSON, LEADER OF BISHOP HILL COLONY

EDITED BY HARRY E. PRATT

AT Bishop Hill, in Henry County, a few miles west of Galva, Illinois, there flourished from 1846 to 1861 a communal colony composed of Swedish emigrants. It was dominated by Eric Janson, not only spiritually, but in almost every phase of living. Janson was to the "world a misguided fanatic; to his followers, a God-given prophet." The group engaged in agriculture, linen weaving, and the manufacture of wooden goods from pans to wagons. Cholera reduced their number in 1849, but in 1850 there were 550 residents.

The murder of Janson at the age of forty-two, in the spring of 1850, following ten weeks of turmoil, hurt the Colony's prestige. It is an involved story, but a contemporary account is given in six documents in the Governor Augustus C. French Papers in the Illinois State Historical Library.

John Root, the murderer of Janson, came from a good family in Sweden. Well educated, with pleasing manners, he had served in the American Army in the Mexican War prior to taking up residence in Bishop Hill in 1848. He courted and married Janson's cousin, Charlotte Louise Janson. He is supposed to have signed an agreement that his wife would always remain a member of the Colony. This Root later denied, but he felt free to come and go and took no part in the group activities. After their child was born in the fall of 1849, Root tried to persuade his wife to leave. She refused, and then, on

March 3, 1850, Root and a friend named Stanley forcibly seized and compelled her to go with them in a carriage.

This opened a series of kidnappings, rescues, warrants for arrest, three mob invasions of Bishop Hill, and the rally of neighbors to aid the colony and appeals to Governor French for troops. Janson and other leaders fled to St. Louis and did not return until Saturday, May 11. The Sunday following, Janson preached a farewell sermon, sensing death was near.

On Monday he went to Cambridge, Illinois, to defend several suits brought against the Colony in the Henry County Circuit Court. It was during the noon recess that Root appeared and fired two shots, one striking Janson above the heart and causing instant death. Root was captured and indicted that afternoon for murder before Judge William Kellogg. To prevent his release by the mob he was placed in the jail at Toulon, Illinois. His trial was postponed until the November term, when his "not guilty" plea was withdrawn.

His attorneys, for various reasons, got the trial postponed until September, 1852, when it was heard at Knoxville in the adjoining county of Knox. Three days were spent examining 219 people before a jury was selected. Root was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to serve two years in the Alton Penitentiary. He was pardoned a year later by Governor Joel A. Matteson.

I. State's Attorney Harman G. Reynolds to Governor French[1]

CAMBRIDGE, HENRY CO. ILL. APRIL 23 1850

Private & Confidential

DEAR GOV;

I have long hesitated as to my duty in relation to the unfortunate difficulties in our Co. I have at last however,

[1] Harman G. Reynolds began the practice of law in Rock Island County in 1837. He served as probate judge there and also in Knox County after his removal to Knoxville. In 1847 he was one of the secretaries of the Constitutional Convention of Illinois; was appointed postmaster at Rock Island in 1847, and at Knoxville in 1856. He became state's attorney of the Tenth Judicial Circuit in 1850. He was Grand Secretary of Illinois Masonry for seventeen years and Grand Master in 1868.

concluded to presume a little upon our old acquaintance, and to state, shortly the true state of affairs, so far as I can learn—*as a private citizen*. I have read the article from the Mo. Republican, and the Peoria Dem. Press. They are gross perversions of the truth.

The Swedish Colony at Bishop Hill was planted in the Autumn of 1846, in the S.E. part of Henry Co., by one Eric Janson, who pretended to be inspired of God, something like Joe Smith, having a catechism explaining the Bible to suit his views.[2]

His people treat him with extraordinary reverence, and receive his teachings with as much respect and regard, as the jews respect the laws of Moses. They believe in him implicitly.

At first, there was no marriage, but soon, this feature was abandoned, and marriage was encouraged. A short period before Marriage commenced among them, *John Root*, who is an educated Swede, and a gentleman in his manners and intercourse in Society, and was mustered in luxury and indolence, came among these people, and sojourned.

He sought his present wife in marriage, and the bargain with Janson was consummated. Janson says, Roots wife was ever to remain. This, Root denies. Root was treated with respect, did as he pleased, went and came, lived, and enjoyed, with his wife, her society, little or much as it pleased him. Having received some money, Janson wished Root to place the same in the common fund, which Root refused to do. All the while, Root's wife labored as one of the Colony, until last summer, when the cholera carried off 130 out of about 600 in a few short weeks. In consequence of Root's refusal to deposit his money in the common fund, an estrangement ensued between him and the colony, until it grew into mistrust and mutual dislike. In the time of the cholera, Root wished his wife to go away with him to some safer place, which she refused to do, and a great variety of reasons are given by different ones for her refusal. The Swedes say, she did not want to live with Root; in the face

[2] Among the better articles, in English, on the Bishop Hill Colony are: Hiram Bigelow, "The Bishop Hill Colony," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1902* (Springfield, 1902), 101-8. Sivert Erdahl, "Eric Janson and the Bishop Hill Colony," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Oct., 1925), 503-74. A four-page bibliography closes the article.

of this Root lived with her when he pleased, at Bishop Hill. Some of the American's say that she wanted to live with him at Bishop Hill—not elsewhere—others, that she was far advanced in pregnancy, could not speak English, and did not want to go for that reason—others again, that she was only restrained by the doctrine taught her by Janson, that if she or any of them left, they would be damned.

In the meantime, she gave birth to a child. Root waited a proper time and was more anxious for her removal than ever.

He tried to get people about Cambridge, and in other parts of the Co. and also in R. I. [Rock Island] Co. to assist him in bringing her away, which they utterly refused to do. He then begged them to go with him to Bishop Hill and stand about, saying, that if they were there, the Swedes would not interfer. Not any would go for a long time. At length, about the 2nd or 3rd of March Root wrought so powerfully upon the feelings of a young Mr. Stanley, that he went with him. From what I can gather from Root, from Stanley, and from Americans now and then in the employ of the Swedes, and with whom I am well acquainted, the facts are about these.

Root went to his wife, and wanted her to go away. She refused. He then said he would take the child, and then she consented to go: Got her clothes, fixed up her babe &c., went voluntarily down stairs, Stanley carrying the child. Root in presence of Swedes & Americans, helped his wife into the buggy, his wife took the child. Stanley got in behind, & they drove away. The alarm was given, and a large number of Swedes on horseback, followed after, overtook them, stopped their horse by force, and in the confusion, Root dropped his pistol, which a Swede seized, and they took his wife and child forcibly from the buggy & back to the Hill.

The following day, Root got a Capias for Johnson [Janson] & others for Riot. Johnson feigned sickness and was not arrested. The Swedes got a continuance for counsel. Mrs. Root had been subpeonaed as a witness & was in Cambridge when the continuance was granted. How much force was used in detaining her I am unable to say. She was detained against her will, and the following day, evidently

against her will was conveyed in the waggon of one Wesley Hanna to Rock River in the North part of the Co. All this was in Co. Courttime—a great many were in Cambridge, and the excitement very great.

On Wednesday [March 4], the trial was to come on, or rather the examination. Root had gone away, and did not return in time, & the matter was dismissed. I am informed that a lawyer of some celebrity then told Janson to take her wherever they could find her. All went home, and the general belief was that the matter was at an end. Not so. Root took his wife to Chicago. The Swedes kept a look out, ascertained where she had gone, and dispatched some of their men to Chicago for her.

I will not detail what I learn had transpired there, only Root says, they had some sort of warrant for him and his wife, which they showed to the States Attorney, and which he denounced. They then tried to get a warrant for Root & wife, intending to fling Root in jail & get away with the wife. They were foiled in this. In the evening when Root was away, by means of a Swede living there, said to be brother to Eric [Janson], she was asked to the door, and taken away. On Roots return, he made what search he could but could not find her. He then got out a warrant for kidnapping, and came back to this Co. He also got a warrant here, to *search for the woman* (*search warrant for a person*). The warrants were placed in hands of a constable, and he summoned a posse to take the kidnappers and find the woman. The posse consisted I am told of 56 embracing some of the very best men in Henry Co. They went, undoubtedly influenced by passion, and in no proper mood for such business, for in addition to what I have said, the Swedes had *Philip* Hanna, who had had nothing to do in the matter, arrested and taken to Wethersfield about 35 miles, on a charge of some criminal matter, which inflamed the public mind greatly.[3]

No injury was done at Bishop Hill to property, to speak of. Some wild fellows, commenced tearing off clapboard, and pulling out brick, when they could not find Roots wife, but were compelled to desist by the American's themselves,

[3] Wethersfield was then a small village some two miles south of Kewanee and ten miles northeast of Bishop Hill.

and orders given to arrest the first one who should be found doing the like again. That hard language was used, and hostile demonstrations exhibited; that private apartments and sleeping rooms were unceremoniously invaded, I firmly believe. Nothing was to be found however of Janson, Bloombergson, or Mrs Root. Janson & Mrs R. had left for St Louis, and the kidnappers for California.[4] The people went away, saying that they must have Mrs Root the next day. The Swedes offered no resistance, treated the Americans kindly—fed and lodged them.

The Americans returned the following day, but it was only a repetition of the scenes of the previous night. In the meantime Mrs. Janson had left. Some threats were used, as might be expected. Arms too, were at hand.

All this was done under pretence of the warrants. While these two gatherings were had, I (the State's Attorney) was at Peoria. Learning what was going on, I hastened home. Apparently, every thing was at peace. The Sheriff had done all he could to induce the inhabitants to forbear in the matter. Soon, however it was reported that Roots child was dead, and the excitement became more intense than ever. The people were ready for another rising, when I (the State's Attorney) interposed, and told the people that if they interefered, they were in danger of the District Court. Root, finding no prospect of raising a crowd about Cambridge, went to the north. He came back saying that the people would be on hand on Wednesday, the Sheriff remained at Cambridge to prevent any further interruption all day Wednesday, and part of Thursday. All came to the conclusion that the danger was over, & the Sh'ff went away. He had not been gone over an hour before about three waggon loads came hooting from the north part of the Co., some quite intoxicated. At the advice of all present, I (the District Attorney) refrained from addressing [them] all saying "its no use talking to a drunken crowd." A suitable alarm however was given, and a large number of Americans from Walnut & Red Oak Groves, met to defend the Swedes. A magistrate, Esqr Piatt, interposed his authority at every point, and no injury was done: Yet, great threats were made,

[4] Jonas Olson led the party of nine men to California. He returned to Bishop Hill in February, 1851 and became the spiritual leader of the colony.

and hosti[li]ty plainly manifested. Root however, had the warrants, and was not there. So this crowd had no excuse. This crowd then became exasperated with Root, returned to Cambridge, and but for the interposition of the people, I do not believe that Root would now be in the land of the living. As to the burning of the Hay stacks at Bishop Hill, the story is all false. The Hay stacks were burned by some Californians, and the destruction of the only house at Lilly Hill from the fire, was prevented by this identical Root.

The people are so irritated with Root that further danger to the Swedes is not probable. The people are tired of it. They have been mislead. They greatly regret it. The people of this Co. are a law abiding people, a peaceable people. They have been excited by extraordinary representations of abuse—of the instructions from Janson &c.

Now Root has resorted to legal means to recover his wife, notwithstanding. Great abuse, great wrong, great violation of law, has been done. But before your Excellency decides upon a district Court, allow me to request you to send an agent to investigate the true state of matters here.

I must say, that if the people insist upon prosecutions, Henry is not the place for the trial. It would be a mockery of all public justice.

I have consulted with no one concerning what I have written, I would be glad if you would send Maj. W. B. Warren, or some gentleman experienced in Hancock matters to look into it.[5]

The Swedes are first in wrong. The Americans are also wrong. I fear that political animosities—that religious prejudice has had too much to do with it.

The people at Bishop Hill appear to be the happiest people in the Country. They seem contented, are industrious, moral, and but little can be alleged against them, except their faithlessness in regard to their contracts.

Excuse this long letter—I have done what I thought my duty. Should you desire a statement from me as States At-

[5] William B. Warren (1802-1865), a Jacksonville attorney and major of the militia, was in charge of the troops at Carthage in the winter of 1846. His tact was a major factor in quieting trouble between the Mormons and other citizens of Hancock County.

torney, I will give it, but do not desire this to be seen by any but yourself.

VERY RESPECTFULLY, & FRATERNALLY,
YOURS &C H. G. REYNOLDS.

HIS EX'Y A C FRENCH.

II. Britton A. Hill to Governor French

ST LOUIS APRIL 8TH 1850.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, AUGUSTUS C. FRENCH,
GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS;

SIR;

I have been applied to, by Eric Johnson [Janson] & wife & others, in regard to the Swedish Colony, located in Henry County in your State, which is now threatened with extermination, by a band of lawless men, of about seventy in number, collected together from Cambridge and Rock river in that County, and led on by John Root, Daniel Stanley, Jarvis Pierce, Capt Hanna and others. Root was formerly a member of the Colony of Swedes, and during his residence with them, married Charlotte Louise Johnson, a member of the Colony, and in consequence of domestic difficulties and ill treatment she left her husband and fled from Chicago to some of her friends near that place; and finally came to her relations in the Colony for protection against the violence of her husband, on the 21st day of March last past.

About the 26th of same month, Root came to the Colony with a mob to force his wife to go with him, but she had previously left for a place of safety. Root being irritated by this desertion of his wife, determined to avenge himself upon the innocent inhabitants of the Colony, and the relations of his wife, who were members of it. Incited by the enraged husband the mob paraded through the streets of the little village with guns, threatening to burn up the houses & kill the inhabitants; and after alarming the people very much by their threats, and after searching the whole place during the night, they left, and on the night of the 27th March again returned, & began to break the boards on the church & some of the houses; fired off guns; and ordered the inhabit-

ants to leave their houses, so they could burn them down. The mob then drove all the men of the Colony, into the basement of the church, and the women and children into the Hospital. After keeping them in suspense & finding that these poor people whose faith is non resistance, obeyed their unlawful commands without a murmur, the mob suffered them to go again to their home and did not do any further violence that night.

On the following day, the mob, burned the hay stacks of the colony and set fire to the buildings at Little Hill about two miles west of Cambridge. The pastor of the Church, his wife, and other members of the Colony, fled from the fury of the mob, and are now in the City of St. Louis. No member of the Colony has had any concern with the quarrel between Root & his wife. She left her husband of her own accord, and fled to her relations her natural protectors, and for this, in which the Colony has no interest or part, the mob threatens fire, destruction & death to these poor people.

Root to accomplish these nefarious objects & designs, circulates the most foul slanders and excites the mob to violence thereby, pretending that these people have robbed him of his wife & child, & that the practices & designs of the Colonists are against law & the usages of christians. All impartial persons in the County, acquainted with these people, know them to be simple, industrious, innocent & unoffending persons. They are Christians, and worship God according to the Bible, which is their sole guide. According to the command of our Saviour, they sat at a common table, and all work for the common benefit; but each family has its separate organization, & they live according to the law of God & their profession. The law of marriage is the same as the laws of Illinois sanction.[6] In no particular do they differ from other evangelical christians, than as above stated. They have suffered much from the cholera during the last season, and there are now about seventy widows with their children left dependent upon the Colony for support; and there are no resources but the property of the Colony to keep them from want.[7]

[6] Marriage was forbidden in the colony in 1846-1848, in part because of lack of dwelling houses.

[7] Cholera brought death to 143 members in the Colony in 1849. Eric Janson and family fled to La Grange, about sixteen miles northwest from Bishop Hill.

The colonists own about 4000 acres of land, with a church, a large four story brick dwelling house, two other brick houses, five frame buildings & other small buildings for store rooms; a windmill, a large flax machine, two saw mills, a grist mill, & a steam flouring mill. A large part of the land is improved & fenced. The property of the colony, exclusive of their personal effects, amounts to $50,000 and upwards. The population of the colony is about 100 men, 250 women & girls and 200 children; and they are divided into farmers, artisans & mechanics.

These poor unoffending men, women & children, are now trembling under the hourly expectation of being driven forth from their homes, at this inclement season, by fire & sword. Though innocent of any crime and entirely unconnected with the quarrel between Root & his wife, they are in danger of being sacrificed to the fury of a ruthless mob. Meek and unresisting, they oppose no obstacle to the violence of their persecutors. Trusting in that God, "who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb" they do not oppose, they appeal to the laws of your state for protection. They are strangers in our land, from a far country, the land of Sweden; they have crossed the seas, to find in our free and glorious republic an assylum, secure from the heel of the oppressor & the grasp of the tyrant, and now from their little settlement, their new home, their wives, widows and helpless babes, implore and invoke, the protection of the State against lawless violence.

By late advices from the Colony, it is reported, that the mob have appointed a day, for the destruction of their little village, unless the wife of Root is before then surrendered to him. These people cannot coerce the wife of Root to such a course; if they had the power they would not exercise it, for in it they have no concern. It is believed that the authority of the State can alone, save the colony from destruction, and the lives of the relations of Root's wife. They have appealed to the laws in the County of Henry, but no officer will serve process in the case. They are satisfied that the local authorities will not protect them.

The terrible example of the Mormon war & massacre, and the consequences thereof; the deplorable inefficiency of all local authority and the termination of that bloody era in

the history of your state, induce the present petitioners to make early application to the Executive. This letter is sent to you in advance & Eric Johnson [Janson] will follow it, if able to do so; & accompanying this I send you a letter from Wm. W. Drummond Attorney of Stark Co. Illinois, & affidavits of part of the colonists, to the truth of the facts stated in this letter.

May you be able to save these unfortunate colonists, from harm, & your state from the further reproach of innocent blood, by exercising that authority which the law & constitution have placed in your hands, for the execution of the laws & the suppression of insurrection—

I HAVE THE HONOR TO BE YOUR OBEDIENT SERVANT
BRITTON A. HILL
ATTY AT LAW
17 LOCUST ST
ST LOUIS

State of Missouri
County of St Louis ss:

We Eric Johnson, Anne Sophia Johnson, Swain Swanston, John Helsain, Erick Stolbud, Jonas Olson, Nels Hedin, Nels Helbom & Peter Johnson colonists of the Swedish Colony being severally duly sworn upon the holy evangilists do say that the foregoing letter has been read to them & they verily believe that the facts therein stated are true & correct & they do fear the destruction of the Colony aforesaid by said mob.

ERIC JANSON, ANNA SOPHIA JANSON[8], JONAS OLSSON,
NILS HEDEEN, ERIC STOLBERG, SWAN SWANSON,
PETER JOHNSON

III. Affidavit of Charlotte Louise Root, Wife of John Root

[APRIL 8, 1850]

State of Missouri
County of St Louis ss:

Charlotte Louise Root wife of John Root, being duly sworn says, that about the 18th. day of March 1850, she

[8] Mrs. Anna Sophia Pollock married Eric Janson only a few weeks before the trouble began with John Root. She was a woman of beauty and great ability as an executive in the Colony. Jonas Olsson was the chief spiritual leader of the Colony under Janson, and continued as "chief preacher" after the death of Janson. Nils Hedeen was one of three assistant preachers in the Colony. Any male member of the Colony, however, had the privilege of preaching if he desired. Swan Swanson and Peter Johnson (Janson) were among the seven incorporators of the Bishop Hill Colony in the act passed by the Illinois Legislature, Jan. 17, 1853.

voluntarily left her husband, while they were at Chicago, and went to the Swedish Colony with her friends. Affiant left her said husband on account of ill treatment and abuse, and she went to the Colony aforesaid of her own free will, without being pursuaded thereto by any one. On the 22d of March affiant arrived at the Colony, and on the 24th of same month she left, for a place of safety, on account of her husband having threatened to take her away. Affiant proceeded to the City of St. Louis, where she now is, with her infant child five months old. Affiant verily believes that said John Root, will take her life, if she returns to him, and she is afraid to do so. The people of the Swedish Colony have not had any influence upon affiant to induce her to leave her said husband. And affiant being afraid of her own life, declares that she will not live with her said husband any longer. He is a man of violent temper, & terrible passions & affiant trembles in his presence—and although affiant is very anxious to save the Colonists from harm & would do any thing in her power to do so, yet she is not able & dare not go back to her said husband. Before leaving him, affiant bore as long as she could with his violence, abuse & ill treatment, & now she is satisfied, that if she returned her life would be sacrificed.

Chearlata Lovisa Root

Personally appeared before me, Samuel A. Bennett a Notary Public, duly commissioned & qualified within & for the County of St Louis & state of Missouri; (the said affidavit was first duly subscribed) the said Charlotte Louise Root, and also Anna Sophia Johnson [Janson] interpretress, and the said interpretress being duly sworn will & truly interpret the said affidavit from English into Swedish, she did interpret the same, and thereupon the said Charlotte Louise Root being duly sworn did upon her oath depose & say, that the matters & things set forth in the foregoing affidavit are true.

Witness my hand & notarial seal this Eighth day April 1850.

Samuel A. Bennett
Notary Public, St. Louis County, Mo.

IV. Britton A. Hill to Governor French

St Louis April 8. 1850

Hon Augustus C. French
Governor of Illinois,
Dear Sir

Enclosed I send you the statement of the Swiss [Swede] Colonists, of Henry Co in your State. They are evidently in danger from ruffians in their County. Bad example & laxity of morals thus is the cause, connected with the pretended cause set up by Root.

You will please examine the papers and act upon them. A timely check upon these men composing the mob, will be a guaranty to others hereafter.

From all I hear, these are quiet, sober, industrious, & honest people.

I have the honor to be your obt sevt
Britton A. Hill

V. William W. Drummond to Governor French[9]

Toulon Ills. May 16. 1850

Hon. A. C. French, Gov. of Ills.

I am requested by hundreds of good citizens of this region of Country to direct a communication to you in relation to this bloody deed. This Article altho written in great haste is designed & intended for the Public I hope you will therefore hand it over. Gov. let me say to you that the murdering of Janson is only a beginning to the deeds of desparation that are to follow in Henry County & even our County is threatened because of Root being in our Jail. We are to be killed, our Court House & Jail to be burned & Root to be rescued at all hazards. You can make such use of this time as you think proper for the purpose of securing peace & quietude

I am Fraternally yours,
W. W. Drummond.

[9] William W. Drummond was the first lawyer in Stark County and resided in Toulon. Drummond's fears fortunately proved to be only rumor.

VI. William W. Drummond to Governor French

Toulon Illinois May 25. 1850

Hon. A. C. French

Yours of the 20th. is recd—and in reply I wish to say that were I to write again in relation to that most unfortunate difficulty now visiting in my neighboring County of Henry a sense of duty to my God, my Country, my adopted State as well as a proper respect for my deceased personal friend Rev. E. Janson, would most imperiously demand at my hands *Substantially* all I said in a former communication In relation to Messrs. Manning, Knowlton, & Skinner[10] I may have been rather severe, but what I did say was in consequence of a remark made by Mr. Manning in relation to the same course as was pursued with the infamous Baxter.

Here I will remark that all those Lawyers and myself are on the most friendly terms. Mr. Manning & I have Practiced together for years are neighbors, and of the same Political School &c, but yet I cannot nor will not stand silently by & see the Gallows robbed of its just deserts by char[g]ing this man *Root* of the crime of Murder without an effort on my part to discharge a solemn duty to my Country to my insulted neighbors and fellow Citizens as well as the *Fraternal* institution to which I am proud & happy to belong.

To me there is no longer a doubt in relation to a want of legal power in Henry County to suppress that band of Marauders. The Sheriff[11] is a good man & will do all he can to preserve the case inviolate but proof certain beyond doubt shows most conclusively that the men in whom he confides are traitors, and here I will remark that intimations are out that the States Atty. is to enter a Nolle prosequi in some certain cases and events, for instance Root, and then prosecute

[10] Julius Manning after graduating at Middlebury College settled in 1839 at Knoxville, Illinois. He served one term as county judge and from 1842 to 1846 as a Representative in the General Assembly. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1862. Lincoln B. Knowlton (1804-1854) was one of the first attorneys in Peoria, and was one of its most brilliant and prominent men. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1847; refused to become a circuit judge, and attended the last Whig Convention at Baltimore that nominated Henry Clay for the presidency. Onias C. Skinner practiced law in Nauvoo, and afterward moved to Carthage. He became a circuit judge in 1851, and from 1855 to 1858 was a judge of the Illinois Supreme Court.

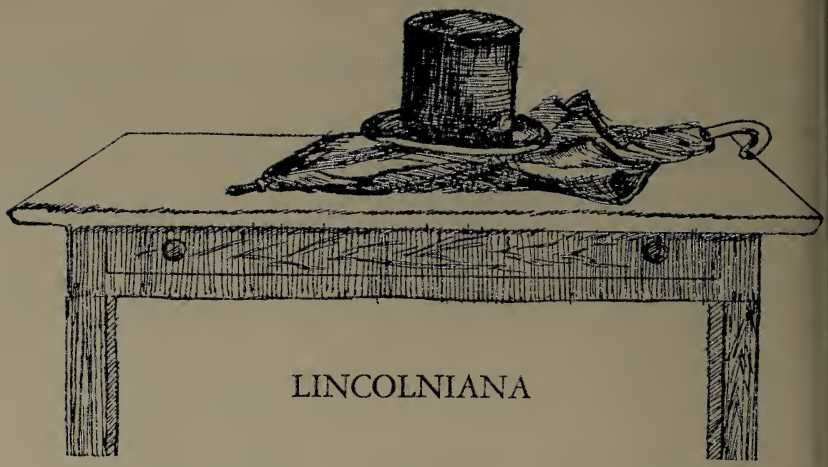
[11] Matthew B. Potter served as sheriff of Henry County (1848-1852) and as county judge (1857-1860). He was captain of Company F, 124th Ill. Vol. Inf. in the Civil War.

the innocent & unoffending, which report however I believe to be false in substance & in fact, but yet it shows the desperate state of feeling as it exists in the community. Again we are told that the Methodist Church is advocating Roots course as a Murderer because Janson had a belief peculiar to himself & his People. I did think that in *this Country* men had a right to worship God as they choose, & fearlessly too, but it appears they cannot unless at the peril of their lives.

I will be in Springfield soon when I will probably see you in person.

With sentiments of Esteem I am Fraternally yours—

W. W. Drummond.



LINCOLNIANA

PRESENTATION OF BARRETT MANUSCRIPTS

The Barrett Lincoln Collection Fund Committee will present Lincolniana costing $70,000 to the people of Illinois at a reception to be held at the Illinois State Historical Library on the evening of Tuesday, April 22. Governor Adlai E. Stevenson will accept the material on behalf of the state and the presentation will be made by Newton C. Farr of Chicago, chairman of the Committee. At that time the collection will be on exhibit in the Horner-Lincoln Room of the Historical Library.

The Committee was organized in 1950 to raise funds for the purchase of the Lincolniana of the famous Oliver R. Barrett Collection for the people of Illinois, and it was the largest buyer at the auction of that collection which was held in New York on February 19-20. The material which it purchased and which will be presented to the Historical Library consists of thirty-seven letters in Lincoln's handwriting and twenty-eight other documents, plus a group of eighty-seven letters and papers of Lincoln's Coles County, Illinois, relatives, and a collection of 170 newspapers of the Civil War period and earlier.

The outstanding purchase (for $35,000) by the Committee was a group of fourteen letters which Lincoln wrote to his close friend Joshua F. Speed. Ten of this series, dated 1841-1843, are intimate letters regarding their love affairs and marriages. These letters are considered "without parallel in all the Lincoln correspondence." When Lincoln left New Salem in 1837 to seek his fortune as a lawyer in Springfield he roomed with Speed over the latter's store until early in 1841 when Speed moved back to Louisville, Kentucky, and this now famous correspondence began.

Another fine purchase by the Committee was a letter written by Lincoln on April 16, 1848, while he was a member of Congress, to his wife, together with her reply from Lexington, Kentucky. These two rank next to the Speed letters in human interest. There are four known letters of Lincoln to his wife while he was in Congress, but this is the only letter of hers to him. Lonely for his wife and two small sons, he reports on a shopping expedition for "little plaid stockings ... that I thought would fit 'Eddy's dear little feet.'" He mentions a foolish dream he has had about five-year-old Bobby and concludes his letter: "What did he and Eddy think of the little letters father sent them? Dont let the blessed fellows forget father."

Lincoln's thoughts of, and solicitude for, his father are seen in a letter of January 12, 1851 to John D. Johnston, his stepbrother. He was concerned over his father's illness and explains that he cannot come because of the birth of his third son William. He hopes his father will "recover his health; but at all events tell him to remember to call upon, and confide in, our great, and good, and merciful Maker; who will not turn away from him in any extremity."

Three of Lincoln's most important Civil War letters were also purchased by the Committee: One was his letter to Major General Henry W. Halleck (October 16, 1863) in which he said, "If Gen. Meade can now attack ... the honor will be his if he succeeds, and the blame may be mine if he fails." Another was written to Horace Greeley on July 15, 1864, about a proposed peace mission. The third was his historic letter of congratulations to General Grant, seven days before Appomattox, in which he said, "Allow me to tender to you, and all with you, the nation's grateful thanks for this additional and magnificient success."

Other unusual letters of Lincoln acquired for the Historical Library's collection are these:

The letter of Congressman Lincoln, dated January 19, 1848, to his constituent Isaac R. Diller, Springfield postmaster, about an increased allowance to the post office for clerk hire.

Another letter of Congressman Lincoln to his law partner Herndon, July 11, 1848, says he has received "unalloyed pleasure" from Herndon's letter and regrets sending the serious, long-faced letter he wrote the day before; "but let the past as nothing be. Go it while you're young!"

The humorous note is found also in Lincoln's letter of July 4, 1851 to Andrew McCallan of Shawneetown: "I have news from Ottawa, that we *win* our Galatin and Saline county case. As the dutch Justice said, when he married folks, 'Now, vere ish my hundred tollars.'"

Lincoln was a leader in the fight against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. He spoke many times in that congressional campaign of 1854, and carried on

an active correspondence. In his letter to A. B. Morean of Jerseyville, Illinois (September 7), he wrote, "Harris will be with you head up and tail up, for Nebraska. You must have some one to make an Anti-Nebraska speech. Palmer is the best, if you can get him, I think. Jo. Gillespie, if you cannot get Palmer—and somebody anyhow. . . . But press Palmer. . . ."

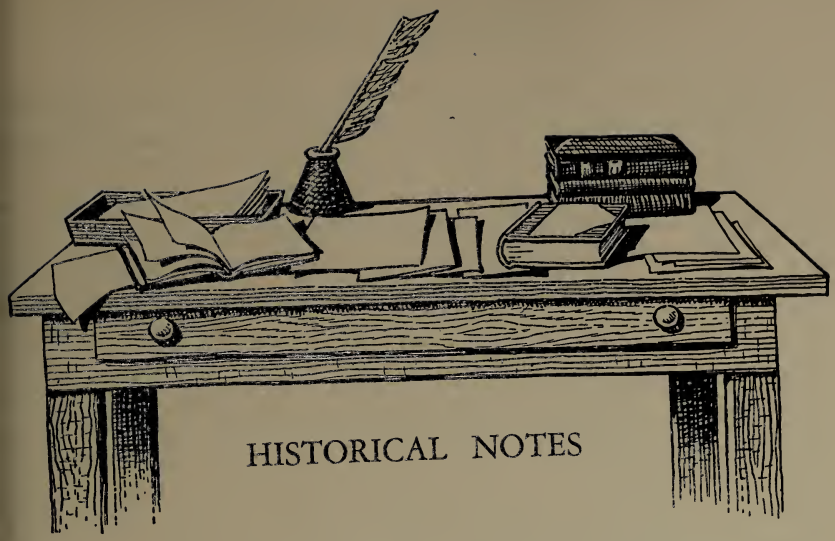
The Committee purchased the letter written (March 23, 1855) by Lincoln, but signed also by John T. Stuart, Benjamin S. Edwards and David Davis. Addressed to Orville H. Browning of Quincy, Lincoln asked his support of the candidacy of Stephen T. Logan for the Illinois Supreme Court.

The eighty-seven documents of Lincoln's Coles County relatives concern the Halls, Johnstons and related families and consist of deeds and letters dating as far back as 1813. Among them are seven letters written from the Civil War front in 1863 by Alfred F. Hall, and thirteen letters from Nancy A. Hall to Oliver R. Barrett dealing with Lincoln relics and information concerning the family.

Many of the 170 newspapers which the Committee purchased contain reports of Lincoln's assassination or his funeral. The earlier ones, however, mention other events during his career in Illinois. The *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), November 11, 1842, for instance, has a notice of his wedding. The earliest of the Illinois papers in this group is the *Illinois Gazette* (Shawneetown) for October 31, 1829.

Oliver R. Barrett (1873-1950) who compiled what was considered the largest and finest collection of Lincolniana in private hands, was a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library from 1937 and president of the board from 1938 until his resignation in 1945. (For a biographical sketch see Irving Dilliard, "Oliver Rogers Barrett, 1873-1950," in the Autumn, 1950 issue of this *Journal,* pages 171-86.) Barrett grew up in Pittsfield, Illinois, and in his early boyhood became a collector of autographs. This boyhood interest developed and his collections of letters, documents, and memorabilia grew to include the outstanding figures of the United States and Europe —but Lincolniana was always his first interest. He practiced law in Peoria from 1896 to 1905, and thereafter in Chicago.

Carl Sandburg described much of the Barrett material in *Lincoln Collector: The Story of Oliver R. Barrett's Great Private Collection,* a 344-page book published in 1949. The sale at the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York included 215 original documents of Lincoln, thirty-three letters of Mrs. Lincoln and letters of the three sons, Robert, Willie and Tad. Also there were hundreds of Lincoln relics, photographs, engravings, prints and books as well as numerous letters of well-known Civil War leaders. Bidding for the two days of the sale totaled $273,633.



HISTORICAL NOTES

LOWDEN REFUSED THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

Godfrey G. Luthy, Oak Hill, Illinois, a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, on June 10-12, 1924, has written the following account of Frank O. Lowden's refusal to be his party's vice-presidential nominee:

In the spring of 1924 I went to Oregon, Illinois, for a visit and interview with my friend, Governor Frank O. Lowden, at his Sinissippi farm. While not an avowed candidate, Lowden was in a receptive mood for the presidential nomination. It looked all Coolidge, but Lowden thought there might be a chance for him if any of the Teapot Dome scandal smeared or touched Coolidge in any way. It was our opinion he should have a few close friends, whom he could trust, on the Illinois delegation to the Republican National Convention at Cleveland in June. There were eleven delegates at large to be hand picked by a few of the state Republican leaders and bosses and later elected in a state-wide primary. Lowden had not been consulted. So it was decided that I should go to Chicago to see some of the leaders. I did so, and asked them if they had invited Governor Lowden to the conference and their reply was "No." I said that his state prominence entitled him to sit in, and they consented to invite him, which they did. At the conference Lowden was asked if he had any names to suggest. He said "Yes—two names only—Walter H. Wood of Cairo, and Godfrey G. Luthy of Peoria." This was a mild request and we were placed on the slate—no preference as to president. Most of the 50 district delegates ran in the primary

in their respective districts as: preference, Coolidge. Although we had opposition from the Coolidge forces we both won out and were soon known to be avowed Lowden men.

Illinois had 50 district delegates and 11 delegates-at-large. The 11 at large were: William B. McKinley, Champaign; Lawrence Y. Sherman, Springfield; Walter Rosenfield, Rock Island; Emily Washburn Dean, Fred W. Upham, Martin B. Madden, Homer L. Galpin, William Wrigley, Jr., Chicago; John G. Oglesby, Elkhart; Godfrey G. Luthy, Peoria; and Walter H. Wood, Cairo.

When the roll was called for the nomination for President of the United States, the result was Coolidge 1065, Robert La Follette 34, Hiram Johnson 10. The nomination of Calvin Coolidge was then made unanimous. The convention then recessed and was called to order at 4:10 P. M. There was much sentiment for Governor Lowden for vice-president but John G. Oglesby, chairman of the Illinois delegation, told everyone that Lowden was not a candidate. When the roll was called, Arizona first state to be called, by agreement, placed the name of Lowden in nomination for the office of vice-president of the United States. The permanent chairman then announced that Oglesby of Illinois desired to make a statement with regard to the nomination. Oglesby said:

> Illinois is not unappreciative of the honor that you distinguished women and men pay to her distinguished son, nor is she unmindful of the part in the past her distinguished sons have taken in the history of the Republican Party; but Illinois also does not wish, without protest, to submit to any action by this body that might be inimical to the success of the Republican Party in November. And it is with deep regret that Illinois must say to the delegates of this Convention that the determination of former Governor Lowden not to be a candidate, and in saying he can not accept the nomination, is final and irrevocable.

The Illinois delegation then had a conference. I asked Oglesby for more definite information and he replied he had a letter from Lowden saying he would not accept. I asked for the date of the letter and was informed it was several months back. I then said that I had seen Governor Lowden since the date of the letter and I insisted that his name stay before the convention. On the first ballot Lowden received 222 votes, William S. Kenyon 172, Charles G. Dawes 149. On this ballot the Illinois delegates voted 30 for Lowden, 29 for Dawes, one each for James G. Harbord and William Wrigley, Jr.

On the second ballot Lowden received 413 votes, Theodore E. Burton 288, Dawes 111. On this ballot Illinois gave Lowden 60 votes, Wrigley 1. Before the final tabulation of the second ballot various states changed their

votes and the final tabulation was Lowden 766, Kenyon 68, Dawes 49, Burton 94. The nomination was then made unanimous.

The convention took a recess at this time and the officers of the convention notified Lowden by telephone at his home, of his nomination. The permanent chairman of the convention then notified the delegates that he had a communication from Governor Lowden and asked the secretary of the convention to read it. The communication was as follows:

To the Republican National Convention, Cleveland, Ohio

GENTLEMEN:

Though greatly appreciating the honor I hereby decline the nomination for Vice President which is tendered me.

FRANK O. LOWDEN.

The convention refused to accept the communication. The chairman then asked the secretary to read an Associated Press dispatch just received from Lowden:

I thank the convention but I must decline the nomination. So far I have always kept my word to the public when I have given it. I shall do so now. I told the public I was not to be a candidate for Vice President. I will not go back on my word. I thank the convention but will not accept the nomination.

The convention then recessed until 9:00 P. M. and gave the chairman authority to communicate with Lowden. At 9:54 P. M. the convention was called to order and the secretary read a telegram just received from Lowden:

OREGON, ILLINOIS, 7:47 P. M.

HON. FRANK W. MONDELL, CONVENTION HALL, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Telegram just received. I am deeply grateful for the action of the Convention. However, I have said a thousand times, I think, that I would decline if nominated. I must keep my word. To yield now would mean the loss of my self-respect. I shall do what I can as a private citizen for Republican success but I cannot accept a place on the ticket.

FRANK O. LOWDEN.

The convention then proceeded and concluded the roll call for the third ballot. Result, Dawes 682½, Hoover 234½, and a few scattered votes. Charles G. Dawes was nominated. I believe that this is the only case in the United States of declining the nomination for vice-president by a major party.

I visted the home of Governor Lowden several times in later years, and it was the opinion of those associated with him at his office and farm, that he might have made a mistake—that if he had accepted the nomination, he would have followed Coolidge as President of the United States.

ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

POLITICAL RALLY AT GALENA IN 1864

Ernest Duvergier de Hauranne, who wrote two volumes about his travels in the United States in 1864-1865, made the following report on a political rally held in Galena on September 5, 1864. Although the principal orator is identified only by the initial "O" he was Richard J. Oglesby, who was elected Governor of Illinois that fall. The first speaker on the program is not identified but was the Hon. Clark E. Carr of Galesburg. This excerpt from *Huit Mois en Amérique* (Vol. I, pp. 232-36) was translated by Dr. Suzanne Robbins of MacMurray College:

Yesterday I went to Galena . . . known for its mines and its lead foundries. It has already more than 10,000 inhabitants. I took the train from Dunleith [East Dubuque] to Chicago. It runs through the valley of the Fèvre, a pretty river between fertile hills, and after some thirty miles of road through uninhabited plains I got off at Galena. I saw a small town straddling the valley on both sides of the river, poor cabins surrounded by kitchen gardens, some nice country houses scattered in the outskirts, but not a single factory smokestack, not a trace of black smoke on the horizon. Imagine my surprise! Next to the railroad tracks there was a big pile of slag; where then were the mines, the foundries? Probably in the outskirts, for in the town itself there was no trace of them. Galena is not the actual seat of the mining industry, but its warehouse, its export center.

What am I going to do with my four hours? Casually I walk across an iron bridge over the river. I hear noise, shouts, a thundering voice holding forth; I raise my eyes and see right in front a large crowd. I approach; a stout,

bearded orator with a jovial face was addressing the people in rough, coarse language, spicing his speech with jokes that gave his audience great pleasure. He was standing on a platform that was decorated with two American flags. Behind him sat the dignitaries, in front was the restless crowd of farmers and miners. One could see types and specimens from all races, from the stunted German of the cities with his large head on a puny body, to the big, dry Yankee, tough and stiff, with his clump of red beard, his tightly closed lips, his jaws diligently occupied with chewing tobacco. Women crowded around the windows of the neighboring houses; ragged street urchins sat astride the low rail, right under the orator's nose. Sometimes a wagon went noisily by, to the great disgust of the audience, but the orator with his stentorian lung power shouted over the noise with a loud burst of his mighty voice.

What was going on? I had heard some rumors about conscription; and this is actually the time when, according to a presidential decree, conscription was to provide the 400,000 men called to arms. Maybe the orator was trying to stimulate public enthusiasm for this. In fact, he attacked "little Mac," glorified "honest old Abe," and abused the Chicago [Democratic] convention. It goes without saying that since he defended the republican policy and refused to see in the constitution any sanction of the revolt, his homely eloquence lacked neither spice nor energy. The rough miners listened to him with open mouths; some shrewd listeners showed a sly smile of approval; others, in their Sunday best, with high top hats, pretending to be men of affairs, gravely wagged their heads. Some scowling and haughty bystanders showed their displeasure by shrugging their shoulders and stifled grumblings. At last, the orator finished and presented to the public the gallant General O[glesby]. "You are going to hear," he said, "the best speech from the finest gentleman in Illinois." The band played a slow and triumphal melody, three men came forward and sang a comic song during the intermission in order to keep the crowd in a good humor; then the general stood up, a large man with grey hair and rather casual appearance which suggested the public prosecutor rather than the soldier. The crowd uttered three cheers in his honor, and he began to speak.

He started out, not without some charm and with a certain dignity of manner, announcing that he would be short, that his used-up voice would not permit him to speak long or with much enthusiasm. Gradually, however, he warmed up, his eyebrows contracted, his eyes bulged. He began to shake his fists, stamp his feet, rocked back and forth and waved his arms around like an epileptic. His voice became harsh and hoarse, and he was still going. For two hours he yelled thus without stopping just like a wild beast in a

cage. From time to time his "enthusiasm" faded suddenly. He wiped his forehead, sat down on the rail, his legs dangling, and started in a bantering tone a private conversation with the audience. Then he jumped up again, as if shocked by an electric current, and heaped all the abusive words of a tavern vocabularly upon an imaginary adversary.

Once in a while he stopped, a wild look on his face, and seemed to stare at somebody as if he wanted to challenge him with his eyes. His whole speech was long, heavy, dull, endless. A hundred times he said the same things in the same words. When the attention of the audience seemed to stray, he found sublime inspirations to rouse it. "I regret," he said speaking of Mr. [Benjamin G.] Harris of Maryland and of his violent outburst at the Chicago Convention. "I shall always regret that no new Brutus should have risen up to strike him right into his heart." Then he called him "this infamous knave who not only merits to be thrown out of a national convention, but to be kicked out from all decent society." Now the hurrahs broke out from all sides. "Yes, we shall make bloody war on them, war without pity, war unto the knife. If you are loyal, do as I do: go straight to the Copperheads, to the traitors and say to them: 'Sir, you are a worthless wretch, a scoundrel, the scum of the earth, and a damned thief.' As for me, I tell them right to their face: 'Yes, sir, I hope you will be hanged!' If these scoundrels want to approach the ballot box we shall shoot them!"

And it is nothing to read in cold blood all these atrocious remarks: you should have heard the tone of voice and have seen the contortions, the blood-shot eyes, the foaming mouth of the man; an impression as painful as that of a rabid dog. You should also have heard the acclaim of the audience, their joyous and prolonged cheering each time that he uttered a good strong swear word. One might have thought to be among bloodthirsty wolves; and yet these rough and honest faces revealed no ferocity. The honorable orator sacrificed merely to the popular taste: the American people, especially the people of the West, like such big chunks of crude and raw meat.

At the end of the speech, when the general, in a ten-minute harangue, gnashed his teeth like a hyena, hissed like a snake, writhed like a condemned soul, discharged all in one breath his biggest barrage of insults and terminated by beseeching the good citizens to "spit with him on these filthy corpses," the enthusiasm, the admiration, the rapture knew no limits. Hats were thrown in the air, women waved their handkerchiefs, the good farmers crowded around the speaker to shake his hand. The general, suddenly quite calm and pale, exhausted after this frightful scene, thanked them simply for their kind reception. Evidently chance had furnished me an excellent example of American eloquence.

This man, you will say, was without doubt some low-class demagogue. But take the local newspaper and read the Republican ticket in the headlines: "For President, Abr. Lincoln, of Illinois, for Governor, General O[glesby]; come and hear this brave soldier, eloquent statesman and stern patriot." This madman was no other than a major general, the future governor of Illinois, making his campaign speeches for the November elections. "A capital speech," said the innkeeper, at whose place I dined on salt pork, pickled oysters, and sour beets. The speaker who presented the candidate to the audience called him the "finest gentleman in the State of Illinois," and those same abominations that seemed so revolting to me, had gained him, so it seems, the respect and the admiration of the citizens of Galena.

The meeting ended with another patriotic song, the audience joining in the chorus. From now till November General O[glesby] will travel from one town to the next, giving the same sermon every day. Maybe he honored the city of Galena with a double dose of his eloquence because it is supposed to be the haunt of the Copperheads. He has announced that all this is only the prelude to the terrible fire which he plans to open in the southern part of the state of Illinois where the rebels have many followers.

THE OLD, OLD BALL GAME

The following is from the *East St. Louis Sunday Herald,* August 12, 1866:

Base Ball Pic-Nic.—To-day, Sunday August 12th the Olive Branch Base Ball Club, will give their first annual pic-nic, at Louis Gross' grove. The place is near the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad track, and the Collinsville plank road, so that parties from St. Louis desirous of attending, can cross at the Carr street ferry, and walk out the track, a distance of about half a mile. Hortis' excellent band will [be] in attendance, and an agreeable time generally is in prospect. A cordial invitation is extended to base ball players, and the patrons of the game, from over the river. Tickets only one dollar, for a fine days enjoyment.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Swedish Theatre of Chicago 1868-1950. By Henriette C. K. Naeseth. (Augustana Historical Society and the Augustana College Library: Rock Island, Illinois, 1951. Pp. 390. $3.00.)

The Swedish Theatre of Chicago 1868-1950 should interest readers of this *Journal* because it is not only an informative and entertaining work on an important phase of the history of our state but it is one of many chapters that must be written before historians are able to portray our past on a broader and more adequate canvas.

The story Dr. Naeseth tells is of no lesser interest for the reason that it concerns one of our smaller immigrant groups and is confined to one single city, Chicago. It is significant as a sample of the many complex and rich ingredients which form a part of our American heritage. Much the same story could be told of other immigrant groups and other cities. It is the history of a people transplanted from a staid European scene to an expanding, growing, pushing America and to Chicago, a great melting pot. To some of these people the melting pot worked too feverishly, too fast, and they sought somewhat to check the process. There were many things they loved and wanted preserved in America. Of these things their religious faiths were most easily safeguarded by means of church organizations. But they had a wide variety of cultural and social interests. The drama was coming into its own in northern Europe and it enriched the cultural life of many who emigrated from Sweden. Dr. Naeseth's volume describes this growing interest in the theater by Swedish immigrants in Chicago after the Civil War and shows how the cultural and social life of the Swedes was strengthened by great waves of immigration prior to World War I.

The Swedish Theatre in Chicago presents, in a sense, a lonely immigrant refusing entirely to lose his identity in the process of Americanization. It

represents a struggle of individuals, in a country of rugged individualism, to preserve their individualism. In this losing battle, which is not without cultural importance, a few individuals gave themselves unstintingly for an art. These were the amateur actors, who played for no other reward than their own satisfaction and for the entertainment of their audiences. They were the Behmers, Brusells, Lindbloms, Melinders, and others who must have had their counterparts among many other immigrant groups.

Their chief encouragement came from the Swedish language newspapers, fraternal organizations, a few prominent citizens, and appreciative audiences. Sometimes the actors were not a little impatient with the behavior of an audience, which seemed eagerly to await the end of the play and the beginning of the dance and drinking which followed. This situation was one of the major reasons for the opposition of churches to the theater.

The decline in immigration from Sweden and the workings of the melting pot after World War I tended slowly to draw down the curtain upon the Swedish theater in Chicago. A reader of Dr. Naeseth's volume is impressed by at least five things: the large number of plays offered in Swedish, the high caliber of plays, the standards of performance set by the actors, the impact of Americanization upon our immigrants, and the enrichment of our heritage through the intellectual interests of immigrants.

Based on a wide variety of sources, the book contains many excellent illustrations, chronological tables, and a valuable appendix and index. Differences in spelling of old Swedish, provincial dialects, Swedish as spoken and written by immigrants in America, and modern Swedish account for errors in the spelling of words and titles.

Dr. Naeseth's book is the twelfth volume published by the Augustana Historical Society in collaboration with the Augustana College Library.

Augustana College O. FRITIOF ANDER

Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution, with the Unpublished Journal of Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton. Edited by John D. Barnhart. (R. E. Banta: Crawfordsville, Ind., 1951. Pp. 244. $5.00.)

This book is divided into, first, a one-hundred-page biography of Hamilton and, second, his journal of the expedition from Detroit to Vincennes, his capture by George Rogers Clark, the journey to Virginia and his life there as a prisoner. Hamilton's journal and other papers in the Houghton Library of Harvard University have been carefully edited by Dr. Barnhart, chairman of the history department of Indiana University.

Hamilton can be evaluated anew as the "Hair-buyer general." He was

not the first to advocate the policy of buying scalps, but was aware that fo each prisoner two scalps were brought in. "When all allowances are made in his favor," writes Dr. Barnhart, "one must conclude that he was so eage to please his superiors in England that he was callous to the inevitable barbar ism of the warriors and the cruel suffering inherent in their methods o warfare."

Although an accomplished military leader, Hamilton was too impulsive and lacked good judgment. A short-sighted policy, ineptly executed, could be attributed to the British government. The friendship of the French villagers at Vincennes for Clark, instead of Hamilton, was a deciding factor.

Dr. Barnhart's discussion of the sources and his excellent footnotes and index justify the attractive format. H. E. P

Mr. Lincoln's Contemporaries; An Album of Portraits by Mathew B. Brady. By Roy Meredith. (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1951. Pp. 229. $6.00.)

The great, the notorious, and the self-advertising men and women of 1850-1865 pass in review in this visit to the Brady photograph gallery—172 of them, and most in full length photographs seven by eight inches in size.

Meredith has divided his book into ten chapters—grouping together the reformers; the politicians and newspaper editors of the 1850's; the actors and actresses; and the politicians and generals of the Civil War. Sufficient text accompanies each picture to identify the photograph and justify its inclusion. That the pictures are not as clear and distinct as Brady made them is the fault of the publisher.

Meredith, the author of *Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man: Mathew B. Brady,* (1946) includes an excellent biographical sketch of Brady in this new album.

H. E. P.

The American Veteran Back Home: A Study of Veteran Readjustment. By Robert J. Havighurst, John W. Baughman, Walter H. Eaton, and Ernest W. Burgess. (Longmans, Green and Co.: New York, 1951. Pp. 271. $3.50.)

This is a sociological study of 416 young men who went off to war from "Midwest," a real community with a mythical name. This cornbelt county seat town with its elm-shaded streets, broad river, mill, rich land, and citizens who complained that "Chicago and Joliet are too noisy" is a familiar urban setting to many readers of this *Journal,* for there are many "Midwests" in Illinois.

Field workers from the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago began gathering statistical data in Midwest in 1940. Their labors continued until 1949. By this time, the puzzled draftee, who had marched up Liberty Street to the Railroad Depot amid teary farewells, had become a be-ribboned veteran who muttered to the researchers, "God help us if Uncle Joe ain't bluffing." The result is a prodigious accumulation of data concerning the impact of war not only on the men who departed and returned but also on the community of Midwest.

As Walter Eaton, one of the authors, points out, the method of telling this story is primarily historical. It is an on-the-spot account of the experiences of a community in a period of stress. Studies were made of the patriotism of its citizens, the problems of the servicemen's wives (Midwest seemed to show little understanding of their problems), occupational readjustment, and veterans' organizations. The final question asked of the veterans was, "What did the war win?" Here the preponderance of opinion is reported to have been one of "passive cynicism."

The historian of Midwest and the Middle West owes a debt of gratitude to these patient researchers who have unearthed, compiled, and made readily available for future use a record of the attitudes and behavior patterns of the veterans of World War II. This study will become increasingly valuable as the veterans themselves march into the historical past.

Illinois State Historical Library ROGER H. VAN BOLT

An Alaskan Gold Mine. The Story of No. 9 Above. By Leland H. Carlson. (Northwestern University Press: Evanston, Ill., 1951. Pp. 178. $3.50.)

The discovery of gold and the successful operation of Alaskan gold mine No. 9 Above on Anvil Creek set off a chain reaction of litigation that continued for twenty years. This is a bewildering story—bewildering to a non-legal mind, that litigation can get so involved, that the love of money can drive people and organizations to such lengths. Even some lawyers, so the author states, regarded the case of No. 9 Above as "one of the most significant, interesting, prolonged and complex cases on record." It involved approximately fifty lawyers and $400,000.

Peter H. Anderson and Nels O. Hultberg were missionaries to Alaska. Their sponsor in Illinois was the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America. When the gold fever hit Alaska and claims were staked and bought, the Covenant maintained that Anderson's claim to No. 9 Above was held by him in trust for the Covenant. Anderson held differently. There, fundamentally, lay the basis of the dispute—a bitter conflict lasting almost a

generation over the legal and ethical claims to ownership or demands for money. The proceedings continued through eleven courts, six of which were in Illinois.

Dr. Carlson, associate professor of history at Northwestern University, is the author of *A History of North Park College . . . 1891-1941.* This college benefited to the extent of three buildings because of Alaskan gold from Anvil Creek. The discovery of gold at Nome and Anvil Creek was made by Scandinavians who had come to America. This volume preserves in permanent form the amazing story of one of these gold digging claims.

S. A. W.

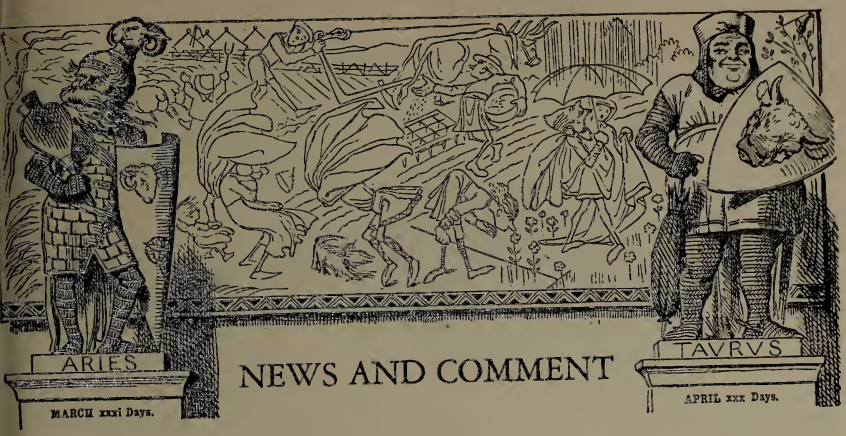
Guide to the Illinois Central Archives in the Newberry Library, 1851-1906. Compiled by Carolyn Curtis Mohr. (The Newberry Library: Chicago, 1951. Pp. 210.)

The Newberry Library now makes available to historians a *Guide* to its collection of Illinois Central records just as it did with the Burlington railroad's papers in 1949. These consist of some 400,000 letters, 126 boxes or bundles of miscellaneous materials, and 2,000 bound volumes of account books. In addition to a complete index the researcher is assisted by a chronological listing of the material by decades, a roster of all the company's major officials, and a special list of maps.

Historians of practically any section of Illinois will find something of interest in this collection, because the Illinois Central records include the papers of more than fifty small roads in all parts of the state. A few of these are: Chicago & Springfield; Chicago, Havana & Western; Chicago, St. Louis & Paducah; Clinton, Bloomington & North Eastern; Decatur, Mattoon & Southern; Havana, Rantoul & Eastern; Herrin and Southern; Kankakee & Western; Mattoon & Evansville; Pekin, Lincoln & Decatur; Peoria, Decatur & Mattoon; and the Springfield, Effingham & Southeastern.

Copies of this *Guide* are available on application to Newberry Librarian Stanley Pargeilis, as long as the supply lasts.

H. F. R.



NEWS AND COMMENT

SPRING TOUR, FREEPORT, MAY 23-24

Philip L. Keister and his local arrangements committee have already begun work on the program for the annual Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society which will be held in Freeport on Friday and Saturday, May 23 and 24.

Members and their guests will register Friday morning at Tour Headquarters in the Hotel Freeport, where a noon luncheon will be held. Mrs. Robert F. Koenig, a vice-president of the Stephenson County Historical Society, will preside at this opening meeting, and Mrs. Mildred F. Berry, professor of speech and American literature at Rockford College, will speak on Jane Addams. Following a tour of the W. T. Rawleigh Company plant and museum that afternoon there will be a tea, probably at the Stephenson County Historical Society Museum.

Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president of the State Historical Society, will preside at the annual Spring dinner Friday evening. Details of this and the final meeting, the Saturday luncheon, remain to be completed. However, members of the State Society will receive their programs in ample time to make reservations and other arrangements for attending the Spring Tour.

The Saturday morning event will be a visit to the Kelloggs Grove Battlefield monument, the Black Hawk War memorial west of Freeport. Holman Hamilton, of Lexington, Kentucky, author of the new biography of Zachary Taylor, will speak on Taylor and other famous soldiers of the Black Hawk War.

Among other points of historical interest in the Freeport area to be visited are the home of Jane Addams at Cedarville, the Lincoln-Douglas

STEPHENSON COUNTY HISTORICAL MUSEUM

A visit to the museum will be one of the highlights of the Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society. This drawing of the former Oscar Taylor mansion in Freeport was made by Mrs. John Alden Riner and has been used on souvenir dinner plates which the Stephenson County Historical Society has been selling to help finance the museum.

Debate site, and the Leonard Crunelle statue "Lincoln the Debater." Taylor Park, where the Lincoln statue is located, was a harness racing track in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the site of the State Fair in 1877 and 1878.

IMPROVEMENTS IN "FOREVER THIS LAND"

Several important improvements will be made in the production of "Forever This Land" when the outdoor Lincoln drama opens its second season in the Kelso Hollow theater at New Salem State Park on Saturday, June 28.

Kermit Hunter, the author, reports that the changes will involve both the text and the staging and will make the play noticeably different from what it was the first year. The revised text will be historically more accurate and will show a greater development in Abraham Lincoln during the time he

lived at New Salem—from his twenty-second to his twenty-eighth year. The greatest technical change involves the narrator of the drama who last year was unseen and anonymous. This new script employs the character of Jack Kelso onstage for this purpose.

Harlington Wood, Jr., of Springfield, will again portray the role of Lincoln, and many of the other actors and actresses will also return, but a number of the more than fifty parts remain to be filled. Tryouts for these will be held in April among students in colleges and universities throughout the state. Both Samuel Selden, general production supervisor, and William MacIlwinen, director, will return.

Presented in a beautiful natural amphitheater which seats 3,000 persons, "Forever This Land" is sponsored by the New Salem Lincoln League, of Petersburg, the non-profit organization which fostered restoration of the village. The play will be given nightly except Mondays, through August 24. Further information about the production, tickets, meals and lodging may be obtained by writing to: "Forever This Land," Petersburg, Illinois.

ROCKFORD'S SWEDISH MUSEUM

A feature of Rockford's centennial celebrations this year will be the opening of the new Swedish Museum by the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford. It is hoped that this will be some time in April, with a formal dedication in June.

The building which the Society has acquired is a two-story, fourteen-room brick house at 404 South Third Street. Built in 1871, it has been occupied by members of the John Erlander family since that time and will continue to be known officially as "The Erlander Home, Rockford's Swedish Museum." The old house has remained very much as it was when it was built—it was even without electricity, gas, or a central heating plant. These will be installed before the building is opened to the public.

In the museum will be many articles of furniture made by Rockford's pioneers—the forerunners of the city's present-day furniture industry. Also it will have much of the furnishings of the first Swedish home in the city, that of Johannes Andersson, a shoemaker, and many articles of historic interest assembled by the Erlander family.

Rockford's centennial will commemorate four important events in the city's history: adoption of the city form of government, Rockford College occupying its present campus, the coming of the railroad, and the arrival of the first group of Swedish settlers.

SIGMA DELTA CHI TO HONOR LOVEJOY

Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalistic fraternity, this year will mark the site in Alton where Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered. It was on the night of November 7, 1837, that the intrepid editor became America's first martyr to a free press. The 150th anniversary of Lovejoy's birth occurs on November 9, 1952. This marker to "an editor who cared" is especially appropriate when freedom of the press is under attack in so many parts of the world.

THE GREAT RASCAL

Jay Monaghan's latest book, *The Great Rascal: The Life and Adventures of Ned Buntline* (Little, Brown & Co., 353 pp. $4.50), was well received on January 6 by critics in the *New York Times Book Review* and the *Magazine of Books* of the *Chicago Sunday Tribune.* The lead article in the *Tribune's Grafic Magazine,* entitled "How Buffalo Bill Captured Chicago," was by Monaghan.

Orville Prescott's column in the *New York Times,* January 9, carried another review of *The Great Rascal.* In it Prescott described Buntline as "a versatile Jack-of-a-dozen-trades with a talent for roguery that amounted almost to genius. Best known as the creator of the public personality of Buffalo Bill and as the author of 400 dime novels, Buntline was also an actor, a playwright, a theatrical producer, an editor and publisher of magazines and newspapers, a lecturer, a politician, a sailor, a soldier, a jailbird, a bigamist, a professional blackmailer and a respectable country gentleman."

Monaghan, former Illinois State Historian, is now working on a history of the Civil War west of the Mississippi River, at the Huntington Library in California.

CAIRO MAGNOLIA FESTIVAL

The Cairo Woman's Club will sponsor a Magnolia Festival on May 16, 17, and 18 (Friday through Sunday). At that time many of city's historic homes as well as the gardens will be open to the public.

"VACATION TOUR THROUGH LINCOLN LAND"

Ralph Gray is the author of a forty-four page article "Vacation Tour Through Lincoln Land" in the February issue of *National Geographic Maga-*

zine, of which he is a staff member. The article is illustrated with forty-three photographs, thirty-one of them in color, and a map.

Author-photographer Gray, Mrs. Gray, and their three children made the "tour" last summer from Lincoln's birthplace at Hodgenville, Kentucky, through Indiana and Illinois to New Salem, where they arrived during the showing of the summertime outdoor drama, "Forever This Land." Several of the pictures of the reconstructed Lincoln village are made realistic by the presence of costumed members of the cast of the play, which will open its second season on June 28.

Other Illinois pictures show the Lincoln-Douglas Debate memorial at Quincy, the old State Capitol at Vandalia, and the Lincoln Home and Tomb in Springfield.

MONMOUTH COLLEGE CENTENNIAL

The centennial of Monmouth College, which was established as an academy by pioneer ministers of the Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church, will be celebrated in 1953. Dr. F. Garvin Davenport, head of the history department, is writing a history of the college and would like to have diaries and letters pertaining to life on the Monmouth campus.

M. L. Houser, noted Lincoln student, died on December 19, 1951, in Peoria at the age of eighty. Since boyhood he had been interested in the Great Emancipator. Mr. Houser was an authority on the books that Lincoln read. He was the author of many pamphlets dealing with Lincoln. In 1950 he presented his collection of Lincolniana to Bradley University where it is now housed in a special Lincoln room in the University's new library.

Fort Dickerson Historical Park in Knoxville, Tennessee, has been named for Captain Jonathan Dickerson, Stark County, Illinois, officer in the Civil War. Dickerson was captain of Company B, 112th Illinois Volunteers and was killed in action on September 18, 1863. The park of about ninety acres is a city owned tract on the river bluff.

On November 11, 1951, a marker for Palestine's land office site was officially dedicated. Principal speaker for the event was Scerial Thompson, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, which provided the marker.

The Lincoln Free Press Memorial Association, composed of Vincennes, Indiana, citizens, has been incorporated for the purpose of restoring the

printing plant of the old *Western Sun.* It was in Vincennes that Lincoln saw his first printing press in the office of the *Western Sun,* and a replica of the building is to be built on what will be the new campus of Vincennes University. March 6 is the anniversary of the day Lincoln is believed to have visited the office and this was the date set for ground-breaking ceremonies for the new project.

The report to Congress by the Bureau of Public Roads and the National Park Service on the *Parkway for the Mississippi* will interest all who love the Father of Waters. Beautiful photographs and a pictorial map of possible parkway routes crystallize this dream of the future for a highway from the source of the Mississippi to its mouth. Copies are for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., at forty cents each.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Alton Area Historical Society met at Haskell House, Alton, on October 14, 1951. The program, prepared by Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, concerned mainly the Indian legends of the Piasa Bird. Mrs. John F. Lemp, Jr. read one version of the legend. George Ritcher also gave a brief history of the Alton Young Men's Christian Association.

At the group's November meeting Ellen M. Machin told of her recent European trip. Miss Machin related amusing incidents that happened when she was off the beaten path in her travels.

In December Mr. and Mrs. Horace I. Ash entertained the group at their home. The program was in keeping with the Christmas season.

On Sunday afternoon, January 13, the group again met at Haskell House. Mrs. Anna Kranz talked on the "History of Salu," an old village now part of Upper Alton. Mrs. Harry L. Meyer gave a sketch of Stephen Foster and the place his songs hold in American music.

Officers of the Augustana Historical Society, elected at the annual meeting, November 12, 1951, include: Donald O. Rod, president; Dr. Fritiof Fryxell, vice-president-secretary; and Dr. G. Everett Arden, treasurer. Board members are: Dr. O. N. Olson, Birger Swenson, Harry S. B. Johnson, and Dr. O. Fritiof Ander. The speaker of the evening was Dr. Henriette C. K. Naeseth whose topic was, "The Culture of the Scandinavian Immigrant."

Hermon Dunlap Smith, vice-president of the Chicago Historical Society since 1949, was elected president at the annual meeting in February. He succeeds William McCormick Blair, who has been president for a number of years and who will remain a member of the board of trustees. Mr. Smith also served for some years as a director of the Illinois State Historical Society.

In March the Society displayed 400 Currier and Ives prints. They were lent by Mrs. Stuyvesant Peabody as a memorial to her husband, who was a trustee of the Society at the time of his death in 1946.

The Englewood (Chicago) Historical Association held its annual fall festival and homecoming reunion on November 28 at the Hiram Kelly Branch of the Chicago Public Library. Helene Pirrette was chairman of the meeting to which the presidents of the graduating classes of Englewood and Parker high schools up to 1930 were the honored guests. The meeting was a reunion of the graduates of those two schools.

Officers of the Ravenswood-Lake View (Chicago) Historical Association are: Jessie E. Reed, honorary president; Dr. H. K. Scatliff, president; Mrs. John Halversen, first vice-president; Philip Schupp, second vice-president; William S. Crosby, third vice-president; Helen Zatterberg, secretary-historian.

Crawford Ferensen, great-grandson of Peter Crawford, was the principal speaker at the annual meeting, last fall, of the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society. He gave a sketch of his great-grandfather's life. Peter Crawford was one of the pioneers of the West Side and helped develop the area. For him Crawford Avenue (now Pulaski Road) was named.

Officers of the Society include: Charles X. Clancy, president; Hobart H. Sommers, first vice-preseident; Marguerite McBride, second vice-president; George F. Cassell, third vice-president; John F. Butler, fourth vice-president; Mrs. Lillian Vitous, treasurer; Mrs. Marie Melberg, secretary-historian. Pearl I. Field is honorory life president, and Helen S. Babcock, honorary president.

Thirty-three members and guests of the Edwards County Historical Society made a historical tour of the county on October 14. This was the second such pilgrimage. E. L. Dukes arranged the itinerary. A colorful Thanksgiving program was held in November. Duane and Gilberta Bunting had charge of both decorations and entertainment.

The Geneva Historical Society held its first meeting of the winter season on December 9. The program was a tribute to the Herrington family, pioneers in the Geneva area. Sketches were given of the Augustus Herrington family and the James and Charity Herringtons, and a tribute to Caroline Herrington was read by Mrs. Einar Larson. Miss Herrington died last fall. Dr. C. H. Lyttle is president of the group.

Officers of the Jefferson County Historical Society, elected at the December 11 meeting, include: Curtis Williams, president; Frank Walker, vice-president; Margaret Ann Cummings, secretary; Silas Echols, treasurer. Mrs. Earl Hanes, N. W. Draper, and Glenn Dare were elected to the Society's board of directors. At this meeting Mrs. George Howard read a paper on "Wives of the Presidents."

A new and attractive publication, the *Kankakee County Junior Historian,* has recently come to our attention. Volume I, number 1, is dated October, 1951. The magazine is written and illustrated by students in Kankakee County junior high schools and sponsored by the Kankakee County Historical Society in the hope of interesting the young people in their own local history. Each issue is the project of a different school in the county.

The Logan County Historical Society met January 28 in Atlanta. Principal speakers were County Judge William S. Ellis, whose topic was "Atlanta," and Dr. Harry E. Pratt, who spoke on the materials available in the Illinois State Historical Library for the study of Logan County history. Plans were launched for the observance of Atlanta's centennial in May, 1953. The following officers were elected: E. H. Lukenbill, president; James T. Hickey, vice-president, Judge Ellis, secretary. George A. Volle is treasurer.

The annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held at the Granite City Public Library on November 4. Principal speaker was Harry Faulkner, who gave a history of Granite City for the past fifty years. Paul Chandless showed his pictures of Madison County, and the Granite City Public Library had an exhibit of books on Madison County, Illinois, and Abraham Lincoln.

Officers of the Society are: Donald Lewis, president; Ella Tunnell, first vice-president; William Stoneham, second vice-preseident; Jessie Springer, secretary; and W. E. Ellis, treasurer. Mrs. Olive Stallings was named director

for the unexpired term of the Rev. A. F. Ludwig. Renamed for another three-year term as directors are: Mary Harnsberger, Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, Miss Springer, and Miss Tunnell.

The Mattoon Historical Society held its annual meeting in October in the auditorium of the Mattoon Public Library. Members and friends of the Society saw the Illinois Central Railroad's color film, "Song of Mid-America."

Officers of the Society for 1951-1952 are: Harvey Wright, president; Emily D. Oblinger, vice-president; Mrs. J. H. Glover, secretary; and Earl Robertson, treasurer. A committee headed by Howard E. Greer has been named to study the possibilities of setting up a junior historian movement in Mattoon schools.

The Maywood Historical Society held its October meeting at the home of Mrs. Oliver Westcott. The development of the area known as West Maywood was the topic under discussion.

Julian Rammelkamp was the speaker at the November dinner meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society held at the Dunlap Hotel in Jacksonville. Mr. Rammelkamp's topic, "A Study in Midwestern Journalism," dealt with the problems of newspapers in a modern democracy. He used the history of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* as an example. Dr. C. P. McClelland, president of the group, announced the receipt of two gifts for the Society: a gavel made of wood used in the construction of the Morgan County Courthouse in 1868, given by Mrs. Henry W. English; and a number of old Jacksonville newspapers, given by Mrs. Lena D. Allin.

On January 18, Scerial Thompson addressed the group at a dinner meeting in the Dunlap Hotel. Mr. Thompson's subject was "Egypt," that section of Illinois south and east of St. Louis. Many prominent Illinoisans came from this southern third of the state: John A. Logan, Lyman Trumbull, and Ebon and Robert G. Ingersoll.

Officers of the group re-elected in January are: Dr. McClelland, president; George Vasconcellos, vice-president; Margaret K. Moore, treasurer; and Fidelia N. Abbott, secretary. Frances Bailey was elected custodian.

At the Oak Park Historical Society's November meeting Lester B. McAllister was the principal speaker. His topic was, "Oak Park's Golden Anniversary, 1901-1951." Thomas Doane is president of the group.

The annual meeting of the Piatt County Historical Society was held on December 4, 1951. Officers, all of whom were re-elected, include Frank Wrench, president; J. K. Felts, vice-president; Mrs. Zola M. Donahoe, recording secretary and treasurer; Calvin W. Adams, executive secretary; and Lena Bragg, librarian. Directors are: William J. Henebry, Mrs. T. J. Foster, Francis Brooks, Henry T. Dighton, and William T. Lodge. Movies were shown of the Monticello centennial celebration in 1937, and Francis Brooks showed his collection of pictures illustrating Monticello history.

A special afternoon lecture was held on Saturday, January 26, at the home of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County. Dr. Harry E. Pratt spoke on "The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln." Contrary to popular belief Lincoln was a comparatively wealthy man. Dr. Pratt explained Lincoln's sources of income and his habits of thrift and shrewdness of investment. George Irwin introduced the speaker and at the conclusion of the talk tea was served. The meeting was well attended.

Last November the Society held open house (Sunday, November 8) to honor new members and give all a chance to see the changes made in some of the rooms of the museum. A large attendance came to this social event which opened a new year of activities.

Robert Mann spoke to the Riverside Historical Society in November on the subject, "Illinois Two Hundred Years Ago." Josephine Sherman is president of the group.

Charles Austin was the principal speaker at the Rock Island County Historical Society on November 8. His topic, "Who Are You, and Who Cares?" dealt with genealogy. Others on the program included, Mrs. Warren Peterson, Mrs. Edward Roberts, the Rev. Theo C. Kinne, and Mrs. William Totten.

Mrs. Mary Jane Rice spoke at the October meeting of the Saline County Historical Society which was held in Harrisburg. Mrs. Rice told about the first newspaper printed in Harrisburg, the *Harrisburg Chronicle,* which was founded by her grandfather, John F. Conover. On October 21 the group visited Edwards County, and the museum of the Edwards County Historical Society at Albion of which E. L. Dukes is curator.

Mrs. Horace M. Brown spoke on "The Wilderness Road" at the November meeting, and in December Dr. Harry E. Pratt was the speaker at a

dinner meeting in Harrisburg. Dr. Pratt's subject was, "Adventures in Historical Research."

In January a color film was shown of the Society's trip to Albion and Edwards County. Scerial Thompson, who took the movies, also showed pictures taken at the Cherokee Indian pageant last May. William H. Farley, president of the Society, showed slides of historic and scenic southern Illinois. At this meeting the group voted to invite the Illinois State Historical Society to Harrisburg in 1953 for its spring meeting.

The exhibit rooms of the Stark County Historical Society in the basement of the Toulon Public Library, and the Dr. Thomas Hall office building, just west of the Library, are open to the public on Saturdays from 1:30 to 4:30 P.M.

The White County Historical Society met in November at the Carmi Public Library. A paper on the early history of the county written by Mrs. Jessie Ramming was presented by Henry Walker.

Paul S. Martin spoke to the Winnetka Historical Society in November. His topic was, "Indians Before Columbus." Mr. Martin, who is chief curator of the Chicago Natural History Museum, described his archaeological explorations in Arizona and New Mexico and showed pictures illustrating methods of work and findings.

LIFE MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Although the members of the Illinois State Historical Society voted to increase the annual dues from $2 to $3 at the Fall meeting they did not change the life membership fee of $50. As a result the list of life members has shown a greater-than-average increase. The Society also has one honorary life member, Mrs. Minna Schmidt of Chicago, who was honored in appreciation of the gift to the state of her collection of 129 figurines of prominent Illinois women, which is a permanent exhibit of the State Historical Library. It is hoped that many more names will be added to this list of fifty-six life members when it is published in the Summer issue:

Milburn P. Akers.....Wilmette
Waldo Morgan Allen.....Lake Forest
Mrs. Fred Ball.....Clinton
Mrs. Earl J. Bennyhoff .....Dixon
Albert E. Berger .....Chicago
William McCormick Blair.....Chicago
Mrs. William Butterworth.....Moline
Alfred T. Carton .....Chicago
Walter Frederick Dickinson.....
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John Charles Lewe .....Chicago
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Ernst C. Schmidt .....Chicago
Harriett Grace Scott ...Brookline, Mass.
Myrtle I. Starbird.....Evanston
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R. O. Vandercook .....Evanston
David M. Warren .....Panhandle, Tex.
Mrs. Harry Temple Watts .....
.....Vincennes, Ind.
Roland L. Williams.....Winnetka
George H. Williamson.....Winnetka
M. R. Williamson.....Alton

Journal of the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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SUMMER 1952

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STATE OF ILLINOIS
ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Governor

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THE DISTILLERS' AND CATTLE FEEDERS' TRUST, 1887-1895

BY ERNEST E. EAST

ILLINOIS was the center of operations of the "whisky trust," one of the largest and most notorious combines in the industrial history of the United States. The combine was organized on May 10, 1887, as the Distillers' and Cattle Feeders' Trust. The initial capital, watered four to one or more, was $30,000,000. Stockholders of sixty-five distilleries, former members of an ineffective whisky pool, formed the trust.[1]

Twenty-four Illinois distilleries went into the combine. Peoria contributed twelve plants, Chicago five, Pekin three, and Sterling, Lebanon, Canton, and Riverton one each.[2] Par-

[1] *House Document 476*, pt. 1, 56 Cong., 1st Sess. Industrial Commission, Preliminary Report on Trusts and Industrial Organizations, 167-241; Jeremiah W. Jenks, "The Development of the Whiskey Trust," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol 4 (1889), 296-319; *The Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company* v. *The People ex rel. M. T. Moloney, Attorney General*, 156 Ill. 448. The term "whisky trust" was largely a misnomer since the original combine produced only alcohol, cologne and neutral spirits. Its successor, an Illinois corporation, produced a limited quantity of whisky at one plant.

[2] *House Document 476*, p. 193, testimony of John McNulta, receiver, Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company. Peoria distilleries were Great Western, Woolner Bros., Monarch, Manhattan, Northern, Peoria, Clarke Bros., Bush & Brown, Standard, Kruse Bros., Great Eastern, and Barker. Chicago plants were Birmingham, Miller, Phoenix, P. H. Rice, and National. Pekin was represented by Crown, Hamburg, and Enterprise. Other Illinois participants were John S. Miller, Sterling; Canton, Inc., Canton; Pfeffer, Lebanon; and Riverton Alcohol Works, Riverton.

Ernest E. East is State Archival Assistant and a former president and director of the Illinois State Historical Society. He has been a frequent contributor to this Journal*—his most recent article, "Lincoln and the Peoria French Claims," appeared in March, 1949.*

ticipants entered into an agreement patterned upon the Standard Oil trust. It provided for nine trustees to be appointed and to serve until elected trustees were named. Corporation shareholders assigned their stocks to the trustees and received in exchange "trust stock certificates."

Charles C. Clarke, Peoria distiller and former certificate holder, testified before a Congressional commission of inquiry in 1899 that the trust certificates on their face were equal to four times the value of the properties assigned to the trust which took title only to the plants and good will of the business and not to the real estate. A large number of these distilleries had suspended operations because of overproduction. The trust closed many more, dismantled a number, and operated only ten or twelve.[3] Peoria appears to have been favored as a large producing center, due to its natural advantages which included an abundant supply of cool well water, its nearness to coal mines, its active grain market, and good railroad and river transportation.

Principal owners of trust units were placed on the payroll at substantial salaries for five years. An owner was designated as plant manager at distilleries, including those which had been closed or dismantled. Only two large distillers in the country remained outside the trust, both of them in Chicago.[4]

First trustees of the combine were Joseph B. Greenhut, Adolph Woolner and John H. Francis, Peoria; William H. Hobart, George K. Duckworth and Lewis H. Green, Cincinnati; Warren H. Corning, Cleveland; Alfred Davis, Portsmouth, Ohio, and Peter J. Hennessy, Chicago.[5]

Greenhut[6] was elected president of the trustees and remained in that office during the life of the combine. Woolner

[3] *Ibid.*, 169-70.

[4] Chicago independents were H. H. Shufeldt and the Calumet Distillery, *House Document 476*, p. 172.

[5] *Company* v. *The People*, 450.

[6] Greenhut was born Feb. 28, 1843, in Teinitz, Austria, and died in New York, Nov. 17, 1918. He came to Chicago when a youth and learned the tin-smithing

was first vice-president; Corning, second vice-president; Hobart, treasurer; and George J. Gibson of Peoria, secretary. Offices of the trust were at 205 North Jefferson Avenue, Peoria, in a dwelling built by Washington Cockle, a well-to-do pork packer, which had been occupied for a short time by Robert G. Ingersoll, lawyer, soldier and agnostic.

Early manufacturers of high wines and neutral spirits had suffered seriously from overproduction after a number of boom years. Previous to the organization of the Distillers' and Cattle Feeders' Trust, several pools had been formed in efforts to limit production. One known as the "Peoria pool" was organized in the early 1870's and had leading producers in the Middle West as participants. The principal promoter was H. B. "Buffalo" Miller.[7] Scant newspaper notices indicate that turbulent elements, among them Edward Spelman of Peoria, assured the pool of an exciting existence. Spelman, it was said, was busy building distilleries and he kept the pool busy buying them.[8]

The Western Export Association, organized by distillers in 1881, also undertook to limit production. Membership in-

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trade. He served in the Union Army as private, sergeant and captain. He was secretary and treasurer of the Keller Distilling Co., Chicago. After the fire of 1871 he obtained employment at an alcohol plant in Riverton, Ill.

Nelson Morris, the Chicago packer, in or about 1878 engaged Greenhut to manage his cattle feeding business at Peoria distilleries. Julius Schwabacher, a distiller's son, told the author that Greenhut owned household goods worth about fifty dollars when he moved to Peoria. When he left that city twenty years later to live in the East he was reputed to be worth ten million dollars.

With Nelson Morris and John H. Francis, Greenhut in 1881, built the Great Western distillery at Peoria. The plant became known as "the largest distillery in the world."

Greenhut organized the Corn Products Co. which merged glucose plants in Peoria, Pekin and other Midwestern cities. He made a large sum of money in the transaction. He invested in the New York store of Siegel-Cooper which became Greenhut-Siegel-Cooper. Later he bought out Siegel for a reported four million dollars. The business prospered until traffic moved away from the store's location on Sixth Avenue near Eighteenth Street. The business was liquidated under a court receivership.

Greenhut had large holdings in the Standard Distributing Co., organized by distillers in 1898. With William F. Wolfner and others he organized the National Cooperage & Woodenware Co., at Peoria. Greenhut in 1866 married Miss Clara Wolfner who survived him with two sons, Benedict J. and Nelson W., and one daughter, Fannie V. Greenhut.

[7] *House Document 476*, p. 240, testimony of Martin R. Cook.

[8] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, Jan. 30, 1895.

MAIN OFFICE OF THE "WHISKY TRUST"

This picture of the former home of Robert G. Ingersoll was taken in 1888. The old house is a part of the New National Hotel, now 217 North Jefferson Avenue, Peoria.

cluded nearly every producer in the Middle West. At the outset plants were limited to twenty-eight per cent of capacity for domestic sale. Members were bound to export surplus goods which were sold at losing prices. The Association assessed participants as much as ten cents a barrel to pay for these losses.[9] The pool was disbanded and reorganized several times. Its president was "Buffalo" Miller.[10] Only ten of the

[9] *House Document 476*, p. 169, testimony of Charles C. Clarke.
[10] Jenks, "Development of the Whiskey Trust," 301n.

thirteen distilleries in Peoria were producing in 1884. Under rules of the pool then in force, plants were limited to forty per cent of capacity.[11]

The residue of grain mash, commonly called "slop," was fed to cattle at distillery barns. Machinery for drying mash was not in common use in the days of the trust. Nelson Morris, the Chicago packer, a power in the combine and for a term one of its trustees and directors, had cattle at Peoria plants, and he appears to have had a contract which gave him a monopoly on this business at trust distilleries. Steers were chained to positions near long feed troughs in cattle barns through which flowed the mash after the process of fermentation had been completed. Quantities of hay also were fed to balance the rich diet of wet corn mash. Distillery-fed cattle produced a superior quality of beef. At the high point of cattle feeding in 1893, Peoria distilleries furnished feed to 28,038 animals. The number dropped to 12,256 in 1895.[12]

Only a few independent distilleries were strong enough financially to buck the trust. Independents were attacked through underselling after they resisted tempting offers to come into the combine. Trust agents invaded their territory and secretly offered goods at less than the trust's regular prices. This practice usually persuaded the independent to surrender.

Among agents representing the trust was Charles C. Clarke of Peoria who testified before a Congressional committee: "They [the trust officers] used every effort in the world to induce them to join the trust, by showing them the profits that were to be made both in the business and the probable increase in value of the certificates."[13]

Among the stubborn independents was H. H. Shufeldt & Co. of Chicago, which held out for four years against the combine. A charge of dynamite was exploded at Shufeldt's

[11] *Peoria Board of Trade Report for 1899.*
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *House Document 476*, p. 170.

distillery in the early morning of December 10, 1888. Two packages containing the explosive were thrown on the roof of a vat-room at the distillery. They evidently were aimed at a skylight over a vat of high wines. The bombs fell short. One tore a hole in the vat-room roof, causing a fire which did considerable damage. The second package, containing seven sticks of dynamite, failed to explode and was recovered by police. No arrests were made. "It was charged that the whisky trust was at the bottom of the conspiracy, the object of which was to rid itself of a dangerous and successful rival," said the *Chicago Tribune*.[14]

The Distillers' and Cattle Feeders' Trust made money and paid dividends regularly. The business was incorporated in 1890 and for two more years continued to prosper. Clarke testified that the "actual profits were about 24 per cent . . . on the original cost of the plants."[15] In the period from its organization to incorporation the combine added sixteen distilleries to its string. These accessions appear to have been financed through the issuance of additional stock certificates resulting in an increase of capital from $30,000,000 to approximately $34,000,000. The combine produced an estimated ninety-five per cent of the alcohol and neutral spirits manufactured in the United States. It contributed somewhat less than half of the national government's revenue on alcoholic products since a substantial part of this tax was derived from whisky and other beverages manufactured by independent distillers or blended by rectifiers.[16]

The word "trust" once carried a certain respectability, but the stock-jobbing and legislative bribery practiced by the "robber barons" in oil, sugar, railroad transportation, and other commodities and services gave trusts a bad odor. Accordingly,

[14] Feb. 12, 1891.

[15] *House Document 476*, p. 187.

[16] *Ibid.*, 170, 173, 215. Late comers in the trust included two plants in Peoria, Firmenich and J. W. Johnson, also W. H. McCormick, Beardstown, and the Northern Distillery, Chicago.

JOSEPH B. GREENHUT

the Distillers' and Cattle Feeders' Trust changed its name to the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company. At the same time the business was incorporated under the laws of Illinois. Common stock of $35,000,000 was authorized.

On January 25, 1890, the trustees announced that they had voted unanimously in favor of changing the trust to a corporation. The recommendation was approved at a special meeting of certificate holders on February 11 in Peoria.[17]

[17] *Peoria Journal,* Jan. 27, Feb. 12, 1890.

Upon incorporation, holders exchanged their trust certificates for shares of stock. Five trustees of the original combine and three other men each took more than 43,000 shares. The stock was subscribed as follows:

	Shares	Value
Joseph B. Greenhut, Peoria....	43,750	$ 4,375,000
Warren H. Corning, Cincinnati	43,750	4,375,000
William H. Hobart, Cincinnati	43,750	4,375,000
Lewis H. Greene, Cincinnati...	43,750	4,375,000
H. S. Terrell, New York.....	43,750	4,375,000
Adolph Woolner, Peoria.....	43,750	4,375,000
Peter J. Hennessy, Chicago....	43,650	4,365,000
Nelson Morris, Chicago.....	43,350	4,335,000
H. M. Kingman, Chicago.....	500	50,000
	350,000	$35,000,000[18]

President Greenhut and other officers of the old trust were elected to serve the corporation. Members of the official board became directors rather than trustees.

The *New York Commercial Bulletin* informed its readers that the new whisky combine was nine-tenths water, that in its opinion the assets of the company were worth no more than $3,000,000.[19] Trust certificates, book value $100, sold at 50 on March 1, 1888, but declined to 30 in January of the next year. Certificates were not listed in any stock exchange but were sold through brokers in New York City, Chicago, Cincinnati and Peoria.[20] Stock of the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company was listed on the New York Stock Exchange in October, 1890. Shares sold at 47, but after the suspension of dividend payments they dropped sharply and reached a low of 7⅛ in December, 1894. In 1895 they sold above 21 under

[18] *Corporation Record 3*, Peoria County Recorder, 64; *Company* v. *The People*, 462.

[19] Reprinted in *Peoria Journal*, March 10, 1890.

[20] Jenks, "Development of the Whiskey Trust," 315-16.

the management of receivers appointed by a federal court.[21]

A system of rebates to purchasers of its goods was introduced by the company in May, 1890. Authorized dealers under contract with the company received a rebate of two cents a proof gallon. These wholesalers numbered fifty-five and were identified by name in print on the reverse side of a "voucher" which was issued by the company. The wholesaler was granted an additional five cents to distribute to his customers. Payment of the rebate was conditioned upon the purchase of supplies exclusively from one or more of the company's special dealers. Payment on the voucher was to be made directly through the German-American National Bank in Peoria, but was not due until the expiration of six months from date of purchase.[22]

The trust made no secret of its rebate system. President Greenhut's report delivered at the annual meeting of the stockholders in Peoria on April 15, 1891, said the company was not the only beneficiary of the system. "Customers," he added, "have realized the fact that the system is also a benefit to them."[23] Sales in 1889-1891 increased from 35,867,211 gallons to 44,738,171 gallons. The average yield of finished goods from a bushel of grain increased from 4.56 to 4.71 gallons.

Greenhut reported that the company had secured exclusive control for the United States of a new patented process of alcohol production which was being tested in one of the trust plants in Peoria. Under terms for use of the new process, which Greenhut thought very favorable, the company was obliged to pay only if a saving was effected in the cost of production, and then only one-fifth of the amount of such net saving. "It is estimated by the patentee that there will be a saving of about 15 cents per bushel of grains mashed," he said.

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[21] *Chicago Tribune*, 1890-1895, *passim*.
[22] *House Document 476*, pp. 206, 210; *House Report 2601*, 52 Cong., 2d Sess., 1892-93, Vol. 3, p. 2.
[23] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, April 16, 1891.

The president reported that earnings for the fiscal year ending March 31 amounted to $1,944,265.95. Cash and cash assets were $1,743,307.62; monthly dividends totaled $1,298,255.59 for the year; the surplus was $325,771.63. Rebates held for the trade were kept in a fund apart from the assets of the company. No statement on the sum of rebate accumulations was presented; and 34,934 shares of stock were held unused in the treasury.

Increased production at trust operated distilleries in the Fifth U. S. Collection District, which included Peoria and Pekin, provided large gains in taxes for the national government. The bureau of internal revenue had established an office at Peoria in 1863. Previous to 1888, the first full year of trust operation, collections on spirits had never exceeded $14,000,000 yearly, but in that year they jumped to $18,388,340.56, and to $23,126,584.20 in 1890.[24] The federal revenue act of 1875 imposed a tax of 90 cents a proof gallon on spirits and this rate was in force when the trust was organized. The rate remained unchanged until 1894 when it was upped to $1.10.[25]

The arrest of George J. Gibson of Peoria, the well-to-do and socially prominent secretary of the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company, by United States officers at Chicago on a charge of plotting the destruction of the Shufeldt distillery furnished a front page sensation in 1891. Gibson was seized February 11, at the entrance to the Grand Pacific Hotel on information furnished by Thomas S. Dewar, an internal revenue gauger, who said the whisky trust secretary had placed an "infernal machine" in his hands and promised him $10,000 cash and $15,000 in whisky stock if he succeeded in causing a fire and explosion that would destroy the Shufeldt plant.[26]

[24] *Peoria Board of Trade Report for 1899.*

[25] *18 U. S. Statutes at Large 339,* ch. 127; *Peoria Daily Transcript,* Feb. 4, 1895. Under the 1943 tax rate of $9 a gallon the Peoria branch of the Springfield Internal Revenue office collected $219,616,323 in 1947, of which approximately 95 per cent was levied on spirits and rectified liquors. The rate was increased to $10.50 in 1951.

[26] *Chicago Tribune,* Feb. 12, 1891.

Federal agents reported that they took from Gibson a grip which contained a bottle of a highly inflammable fluid which was to be used to arm a mechanical device delivered by Gibson to Dewar two weeks earlier. This was a kind of gun designed to fire a ball through the bottom of a wooden spirits vat. The liquid, later described by a chemist as a compound of bisulphate of carbon and phosphorus, was to be ignited with a fuse. The flame was expected to cause the discharge of the gun. Spirits released at the base of the punctured vat would ignite and touch off an explosion calculated to destroy the distillery. Federal agents had coached Dewar in laying a trap for Gibson.[27] Following their instructions he wrote Gibson saying that the liquid in the materials handed to him had deteriorated and asked for a fresh supply. Gibson telegraphed that he would be in Chicago the next morning. He left Peoria that night in the caboose of a freight train.

Following the arrest of Gibson, the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company announced his resignation as secretary and elected Peter J. Hennessy of Chicago to the post. President Greenhut expressed belief in Gibson's innocence and the alleged plotter remained on the payroll.

The incident provided a juicy morsel for critics of the combine which, despite the change of name, almost invariably was mentioned as the "trust." The *Peoria Journal,* edited and published by Jacob B. Barnes, frequently needled it:

> The late fury over the whisky trust has almost subsided. The members now walk the streets like ordinary men and are no longer interested in the price of dynamite, the beauties of an antiseptic fluid or the possibilities of gin. Instead they are rejoicing that the new Japanese process of making whisky will give them the market anyway.[28]

"The Japanese process" was a formula developed by Dr. Jokichi Takamine,[29] a Japanese scientist who came to the United States in 1890 at the invitation of distilling interests.

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[27] *House Report 2601,* pp. 16-26, testimony of Thomas S. Dewar.

[28] March 1, 1891.

[29] K. K. Kawakami, *Jokichi Takamine, A Record of His American Achievements,* New York, 1928; Caroline Takamine Beach (widow of Jokichi, remarried to Charles

He was heralded as the discoverer of a revolutionary process for the manufacture of alcohol represented to be much cheaper and speedier than the barley malt method used by American producers.

Takamine carried specimens of his ferment to Chicago where it was tested on an extensive scale in the Phoenix distillery. The *New York Times* in an editorial stated that the whisky trust had lost no time in offering liberal terms for its use. The *Times* was informed that the Takamine process would represent a gain to the trust of $2,000,000 a year, and that Takamine was to receive twenty per cent of the savings in the cost of production.[30]

President Greenhut placed Takamine under contract on February 18, 1891, to apply his process to experimental large-scale runs at Peoria. Takamine appears to have established residence at Peoria before April 4, 1891, for on this date the Takamine Ferment Company issued a license to the distilling corporation to use the new process. A second contract between Takamine's company and the trust was executed on July 18, 1894.[31]

Beach), Vail, Ariz., to the author, Sept. 19, Oct. 4, 21, Nov. 5, 1947.

Takamine was born Nov. 3, 1854, at Kanawawa, prefecture of Kaga. He studied at Kyoto and Osaka, and in 1880 was graduated from the College of Science and Engineering in Tokyo. He attended the University of Glasgow and also Anderson University in Glasgow, Scotland. Back in Japan he was appointed chief of the division of chemistry in the department of agriculture and commerce.

Takamine represented Japan at the Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans and there met Caroline Hitch whom he married in 1887. In Japan he pursued chemical researches and patented a process which hastened the production of diastase commonly employed in converting starches to sugar for the manufacture of alcohol.

Takamine in 1901 before a medical convention at Johns Hopkins University announced his discovery of adrenalin. This product, and also takadiastase, an aid to digestion, are manufactured today by a large pharmaceutical company in Detroit.

Takamine established a research laboratory in New York. Dr. E. T. Takamine, son of the pioneer, is president of Takamine Laboratory, Inc., which manufactures enzymes and other chemical products at Clifton, N. J.

Jokichi Takamine was devoted to the arts and worked for a better understanding between the peoples of America and his native land. He purchased 2,000 cherry trees which were presented to the United States in the name of the mayor of Tokyo, and planted on the shores of the tidal basin in Washington, D. C. Takamine died on July 22, 1922, in New York City.

[30] Sept. 28, 1891.

[31] *Olmstead* v. *The Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company,* no. 23640, U. S. Circuit Court, Northern Dist. of Ill., Northern Div.; Caroline Takamine Beach to the author, Oct. 9, 1947.

Takamine used wheat bran and similar materials to produce his converting agent which he called "koji." The name had been used in the Far East for many years to designate a pure culture of aspergillus oryzae propagated on a sterile media.[32] It was ready for use in a much shorter time than barley malt.

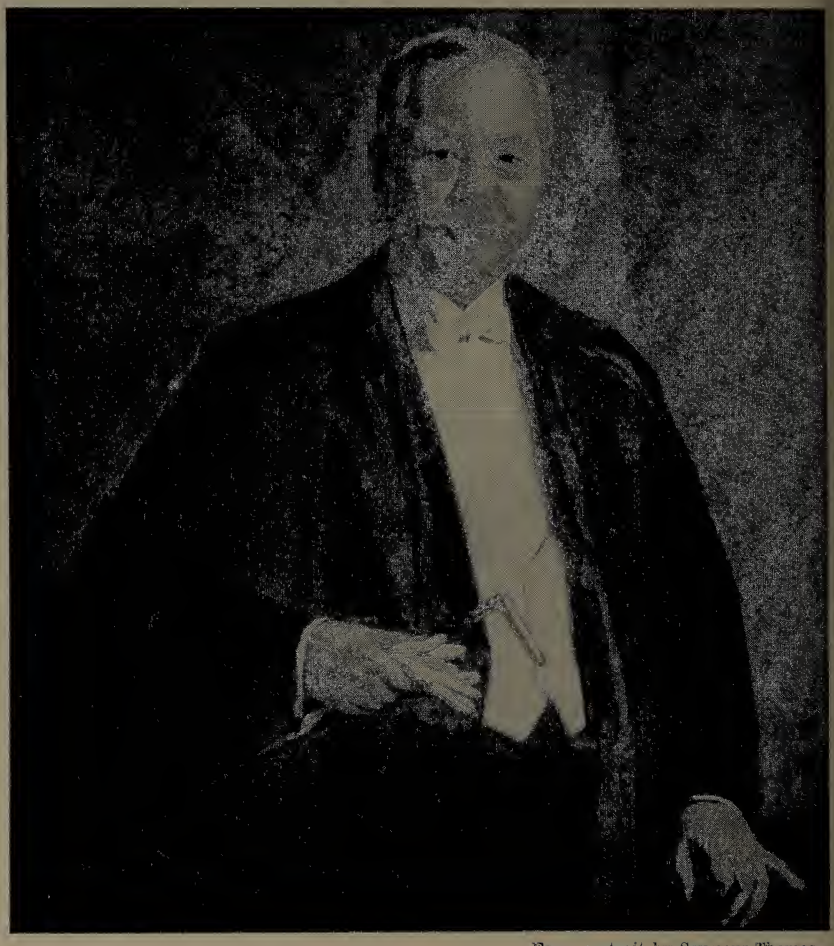
Takamine was in Peoria for nearly four years. Secrecy surrounded the experiments he conducted in the malt house of the Grove distillery which was built by Woolner Bros. Here he was often assisted by his wife, the former Caroline Hitch of New Orleans. Guards were placed at his equipment to thwart "spies," reported to be in the employ of independent distillers. Also, critics of the trust charged that President Greenhut used announcements of the varying success or failure of the Takamine experiments to influence the price of the corporation's stock.

At Chicago Takamine and his backers had organized the Takamine Ferment Company which prepared to license users of its chemical processes. Shares had a book value of $1,000,000 which was increased to $10,000,000 at a Chicago meeting of directors on March 5, 1891.[33]

The Japanese scientist carried on other chemical experiments independently of his distilling operations. He established a laboratory in a cottage he called "The White House," next door to the Peoria house which he occupied with his wife and their two small sons, Jokichi and Eben, both of whom were born in Japan. Takamine brought from Japan a classmate, Shimidzu, a chemist, and two other men, Koiski and Yamada, who were laboratory assistants of lesser skill.[34]

Takamine's process was put into production in December, 1894, at the Manhattan distillery in Peoria, which was equipped with new machinery for that purpose. The scien-

[32] Kawakami, *Jokichi Takamine*, 25; Eben T. Takamine to the author, Oct. 9, 1947.
[33] *Chicago Tribune*, March 6, 1891.
[34] Caroline Takamine Beach to the author, Sept. 19, 1947.



From portrait by Seymour Thomas

DR. JOKICHI TAKAMINE

tist's triumph was short lived. Within two months the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company was in the hands of receivers appointed by the United States Circuit Court in Chicago. The receivers changed the distillery back to the old process and at Takamine's request his contracts with the trust were canceled without remuneration to him.[35] But through his discoveries in medical chemistry, Takamine went on to fame and fortune.

[35] *Olmstead* v. *The Company.*

Editor Barnes of the *Peoria Journal* evidently observed that the afterclap of the Gibson incident had not entirely "subsided" for on March 13, 1891, he wrote:

> The town is full of detectives. Two sets of Pinkerton men, the one for, the other against the Trust, prowl about the city, and all the drug stores are under surveillance. All the machine shops where infernal machines would be likely to be constructed are carefully guarded. A double line of pickets surround the Monarch Mills [Gibson's distillery]; fortifications are being thrown up around the Woolner establishment [where Takamine was conducting his experiments] whether to protect the men or conceal the special process by which the Jayanese method of making "saki" is to remain a close secret is not known.

Gibson was indicted by a grand jury in the Criminal Court of Cook County on February 16, 1891. He was charged with procuring gunpowder with felonious intent[36]—two additional indictments charged attempts to commit arson; a fourth with procuring gunpowder for the destruction of life and property, and a fifth with conspiracy to commit murder. But Gibson never faced a trial jury—a nolle prosequi order being entered eventually in each case.[37]

The Gibson indictment made much copy for Peoria[38] and Chicago[39] newspapers for more than a month. An example of the methods of the trust in forcing distilleries to join it was shown in a *Chicago Tribune* story:

> Dohoney & Spelman[40] built a large anti-trust distillery at Peoria which they called the "Enterprise." Some time after it was opened the insurance companies were mysteriously notified to cancel their policies upon the plant, and one night later it was mysteriously devastated by fire. Herget Bros. built a small independent distillery at Pekin, Ill. That went up in flames. The Hamburg distillery [Pekin], also an independent concern, was added to the mysterious losses by fire.[41]

Julius Schwabacher, a distiller's son since deceased, told

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[36] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 17, 19, 1891.
[37] *Docket A-20; Nolle Prosequi Record No. 3*, p. 571; *Clerk's Term Docket B 20*, Criminal Court of Cook County.
[38] *Peoria Journal*, March 6, 1891.
[39] *Chicago Tribune*, March 20, 1895.
[40] James Dohoney and Edward Spelman were partners.
[41] *Chicago Tribune*, March 20, 1895.

this writer that Henry P. Westerman of Pekin had been ruined financially by the trust. Schwabacher said Westerman then wrote a manuscript history in which he exposed the ruthless methods of the combine, and that an officer of the trust heard of it and paid Westerman $50,000 for the manuscript and his silence.

In the two years preceding the depression of 1893 the whisky trust had its golden days. Dividend payments to shareholders reached a peak of $1,890,022 in 1892, but dropped more than one million dollars the next year. Sales in the seven-year period, 1889-1895, were $267,967,791. For the five-year period ending in 1894, the combine produced more than 214,000,000 gallons of alcohol and used over 45,000,000 bushels of grain. Payments of rebates to customers in 1893 totaled $3,737,322.[42] This sum doubtless represented accumulations for a period greater than twelve months.

Legislation designed to curb trusts was enacted by the Illinois General Assembly early in 1891. Representative Thomas F. Ferns, a lawyer of Jerseyville, on January 13 introduced a bill "to provide for the punishment of persons, copartnerships or corporations forming pools, trusts and combines." The measure evidently was aimed at the whisky combine for it made trust certificates and price-fixing pools unlawful. A minimum fine of $500 was provided for a guilty combination and for repeated offenses the penalty ran to a maximum of $15,000. Officers or agents of guilty combines were subject to fine or a year in jail, or both. The bill was passed by overwhelming majorities and approved on June 11.[43]

President Greenhut and other directors of the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company were indicted in the United States Court for the district of Massachusetts on a charge of intent to restrain trade. Directors Warren Corning and Julius D. French were arrested in the northern district of Ohio.

[42] *House Document 476*, pp. 211-16, testimony of John McNulta, receiver.
[43] *Laws of the State of Illinois*, 1891, p. 206.

They resisted removal on the ground that the indictment did not charge an offense against the United States. Upon a hearing in February, 1892, Judge Augustus J. Ricks at Cleveland held the indictment insufficient and refused the warrant. The court ruled that the averment of intent was not sufficient, adding: "The indictment, therefore, wholly fails to charge a crime." Similar rulings in the cases of other directors were made by Federal Judges Howell Jackson at Cincinnati, and Emile H. Lacombe in New York City.[44]

Surplus funds of the company were used in 1892 to purchase four additional distilleries, bringing all important producers including Shufeldt's into the trust. Early in 1893 the company found itself without cash to pay rebates promised to dealers. Dividends were reduced and the stock fell from 70 to 20.[45] Directors in May, 1893, authorized the issuance of $8,000,000 in twenty-year bonds. Three and one-half millions were placed in escrow to guarantee rebate payments. One million was sold at fifty cents on the dollar. These bonds were secured by a trust deed executed in June over the signature of President Greenhut. Properties of twenty-eight distilleries, probably including all in which the company held title to the real estate, were described in the instrument.[46]

Stock speculations, reports of legislative bribery and other operations of the big combines touched off a series of investigations by national and state lawmakers. In Illinois the General Assembly, in February, 1893, adopted a joint resolution providing for a sweeping inquiry into the operations of the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company.[47] At Washington the House of Representatives directed its judiciary committee to inquire into the "character and operations of the whisky trust" and other combinations.[48]

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[44] *House Report 2601*, v-vii, 51.
[45] *House Document 476*, p. 167.
[46] Mortgage Record 102, Peoria County Recorder, 68-99.
[47] *Laws of the State of Illinois*, 1893, pp. 192-95.
[48] *House Report 2601*, i.

How the Distillers' and Cattle Feeders' Trust, or the corporation which succeeded it, sold a distillery in Nebraska City, Nebraska, for $10,000 and bought it back for $410,000 was told in 1899 by John McNulta, United States Court receiver. An officer of the company, not mentioned by name, gained $290,000 on the deal.[49]

Charging that the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company exceeded powers granted to it by its charter, that it destroyed competition, that it was repugnant to public policy and therefore illegal, the State of Illinois on May 13, 1893, brought quo warranto proceedings against the trust in the Circuit Court of Cook County. The petition was filed by Attorney General M. T. Moloney. The State asked authority to cancel the company's certificate of incorporation. Judge John Gibbons sustained the State and in December entered an order of ouster. The trust gained a respite by filing an appeal to the Illinois Supreme Court.[50]

Because they were unwilling "to rebuke the judges of this state," seven of the eight members of the joint investigating committee of the Illinois General Assembly failed to recommend specific action against the trust. The majority report on the committee's inquiry was presented to the legislature on June 16, 1893. It mentioned dismissal of indictments against Gibson in the Cook County Criminal Court, and also the quashing of indictments against the directors of the trust by federal courts. The majority was willing to rest the State's case on the suit filed by Attorney General Moloney.

State Senator Moses Salomon of Cook County, chairman of the committee, held widely divergent views. "It is manifest that the company exists in violation of the laws of Illinois, and that its officers have subjected themselves to liability of prosecution for the violation of the criminal laws of the State," declared Salomon in a minority report. He recommended that

[49] *House Document* 476, pp. 197-98.
[50] *Company* v. *The People.*

indictments against Gibson be vigorously prosecuted. The majority report was rejected by the Senate which thereupon adopted the minority report.[51] The House appears to have adjourned *sine die* without acting on the committee reports.

Rulings of federal courts which quashed criminal proceedings against officers of the trust also influenced the judiciary committee of the national House of Representatives which reported the results of its findings on March 1, 1893. The majority discussed the possibility of legislative remedy but said the evils complained of were "beyond the reach of national authority."[52]

Greenhut was reported to be speculating heavily in Distilling and Cattle Feeding stocks. Clarence W. Barron, the financial journalist, left to posterity revealing memoranda on interviews he had with big operators in the securities market. Dexter T. Mills, a distributor of spirits in Boston, was quoted in 1894 by Barron as saying:

> I believe Nelson Morris and J. B. Greenhut are now loaded with about 140,000 shares of whisky stock. . . . I believe that if the Distillers & Cattle Feeding Company business was run for itself and without an eye to Wall Street speculation, it would be the best industrial in the market but it is only balloon speculation. In the first speculation Greenhut and Morris made about $1,500,000 by selling out on their associates.[53]

The financial position of the company continued to decline, and late in 1894, Greenhut presented a plan of reorganization to bring in new capital. He proposed a new company with capital reduced to $10,000,000 of which $3,500,000 was to be seven per cent cumulative preferred stock. Time and events operated to postpone indefinitely the execution of the plan.[54]

Greenhut, in Peoria on December 8, gave out a statement of the company's financial condition. Assets were listed at

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[51] *Journal of the Senate of the Thirty-Eighth General Assembly of the State of Illinois*, 1893, pp. 945, 992-94, 1002.

[52] *House Report 2601*, vii.

[53] Clarence W. Barron, *More They Told Barron* (New York, 1931), 8-9.

[54] *Peoria Journal*, Nov. 28, Dec. 1, 4, 1894.

$2,321,298, consisting of stocks of spirits, grain and good accounts, cash in treasurer's hands amounting to $409,262, and cash in plant accounts totaling $265,132. Owing were bills payable of $128,565, and rebates due to the trade amounting to $1,011,217.[55]

The company lost a suit to test its right to refuse payment of rebates. The United States Court at Chicago awarded the Gottschalk Company of Baltimore judgment of $37,000 against the trust on a claim for rebates. The company defended the suit on the ground that the dealer failed to meet all the requirements of the rebate contract.[56]

Next the belabored trust became a ward of the United States Circuit Court[57] at Chicago. Interests friendly to Greenhut, representing 1,700 shares, filed a petition for the appointment of a receiver for the company on January 28, 1895.[58] The reason assigned was that the company was being pressed to pay its debts and that it had no funds with which to meet the demands. Judge Peter S. Grosscup appointed Greenhut and Edward F. Lawrence of Chicago joint receivers. Lawrence was a banker and reputedly a close friend and business associate of Nelson Morris.

The petition was filed in the name of John F. Olmstead, an associate of Charles J. Goodhart, a New York broker, who had been patronized by Greenhut and Morris. Within a few days the names of Sidney J. Wormser and Charles J. Heinsheimer were added to the petition for receiver. Subsequently it was disclosed that Olmstead became a stockholder only one day previous to the filing of the suit, and that Heinsheimer and Wormser, the latter a 17-year-old messenger boy, were employees in Goodhart's office.

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[55] *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1894.

[56] *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1895.

[57] The U. S. Circuit Court had original jurisdiction in substantially all civil cases coming under federal law. This court was abolished by act of March 3, 1911 (*36 U. S. Statutes at Large 1167*, ch. 231), effective Jan. 1, 1912.

[58] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 30, 1895; *Olmstead* v. *The Company*.

Counsel for a protesting stockholders' committee, headed by Richard B. Hartshorne of New York, filed an intervening petition asking removal of the receivers and leveled a charge of collusion against Greenhut. It alleged that bonds of $1,000,000 were sold by the directors to Greenhut and Morris at fifty cents on the dollar although the real estate of the company was ample security for the bonds at their face value. Hartshorne charged trust officers with "evil purposes and designs."[59]

Judge Grosscup on January 31 entered an order restraining the receivers from doing "anything whatever" with the properties of the company. The Judge put Greenhut under oath and interrogated him upon the charge that the trust president was short 15,000 shares in the stock of the company at the time of his appointment as receiver. Greenhut admitted that he "was short possibly 15,000 shares."[60]

Grosscup on February 4 removed Greenhut as receiver saying that his acceptance of the receivership "was simply an imposition on the court."[61] The Judge appointed John McNulta[62] chief receiver as the personal representative of the court, and John J. Mitchell, president of the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago, receiver representing the stockholders' reorganization committee. Lawrence remained as the third receiver. Counsel for protesting stockholders presented the affidavit of Heinsheimer and Wormser stating that their names had been placed on the petition for receiver without their knowledge.

The Judge removed the names of Heinsheimer and Wormser from the petition and entered a rule upon Greenhut to show cause why he should not be punished for contempt

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[59] *Chicago Tribune,* Jan. 31, 1895.
[60] *Ibid.,* Feb. 1, 3, 1895.
[61] *Ibid.,* Feb. 5, 1895.
[62] McNulta (1837-1900), born in New York City, settled in Bloomington, Ill. He enlisted in the Union Army as a private and rose to brevet brigadier general. Admitted to the bar in 1865, he was a state senator (1868-72), and was elected to the 43d Congress as a Republican.

of court in affixing names to the petition without authority. Subsequently Greenhut filed an affidavit stating that he had authority from Goodhart to use the name of Wormser. Goodhart made affidavit that he granted no such authority. Judge Grosscup ordered all parties to submit to cross-examination. Goodhart refused to appear and the Judge, ten months later, dismissed the rule.[63]

To save the distilling industry from further disaster the receivers got the owners of trust houses and independents together. The conference resulted in the formation of the Spirits Distilling Association. Receiver McNulta was selected to serve as chairman of a sixteen-man executive committee. Agreements were made to limit production and to increase the price of spirits.

By order of the court and a resolution of the directors, the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company on March 7, 1895, quit claimed its interest in its properties to the receivers. Real estate and leaseholds covering fifty-eight plants were conveyed. The instrument recorded by the Peoria County Recorder on the same day filled thirty-four pages of the record.[64]

Newspapers of New York and Cincinnati, in which cities there were large stockholders of the trust, continued to pour criticism both on Greenhut and on groups opposed to him. Said the *New York World*: "The Whisky Trust's plan of reorganization is as unlawful as burglary."[65] All three of the receivers resigned on March 23, 1895. Judge Grosscup accepted the resignations of Mitchell and Lawrence[66] but declined that of McNulta, and he continued as sole receiver.

Bids for the property of the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company were invited by the receiver. The only bid received was from the reorganization committee which offered $9,800,000 for the trust properties and requested that the con-

[63] *Olmstead* v. *The Company.*
[64] *Record 102,* Peoria County Recorder, 463-97.
[65] Reprinted in *Peoria Journal,* March 14, 1895.
[66] *Peoria Journal,* March 23, 1895.

veyance be made to the American Spirits Manufacturing Company[67] as the assignee of the committee. It was shown that the committee controlled 347,508 of the 350,000 shares of the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company. The court entered an order confirming the sale. Facts are set out in a conveyance from McNulta, receiver, to the American Spirits Manufacturing Company executed on August 29, 1895.[68]

The Central Trust Company of New York, on December 26, 1895, released the trust deed of June 1, 1893, under which the combine pledged its property to secure its issue of bonds.[69]

Before the United States Circuit Court had finally terminated the existence of the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company the Illinois Supreme Court decreed the end of the combine as a corporation. The court, in June, 1895, found that the corporation usurped powers not conferred by its charter, that it was monopolistic in its operation and therefore was illegal.[70]

The final act, however, came in November, 1920, when Attorney General Edward Brundage obtained a decree from the Circuit Court of Peoria County dissolving the corporation.[71]

The most extensive official history of the old whisky trust and its successor, the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company, was developed by witnesses who appeared before an industrial commission set up by the 56th Congress which conducted hearings in 1899.[72]

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[67] Incorporated in New York, Aug. 22, 1895.
[68] Miscellaneous Deed Record, UG, Peoria County Recorder, 392-408.
[69] Book XH, Peoria County Recorder, 244.
[70] *156 Illinois,* 448.
[71] *Special Chancery Record A,* 127.
[72] *House Document 476,* pp. 167-241. The commission's report indicated that seventeen distilleries were acquired by the American Spirits Manufacturing Company, which soon became known as the "trust." The new corporation took over five plants in Peoria, two in Pekin, and two in Cook County, among others.

CHARLES A. DANA AND *THE CHICAGO REPUBLICAN*

BY ELMER GERTZ

CHARLES A. DANA remained only a brief time in Chicago, despite the great expectations that had been entertained of a permanent residence there. Commencing with General James H. Wilson, his biographers have made light of his Chicago period, largely because of their unawareness of the sources and Dana's own understandable reticence on the subject. Wilson stated in his book, *The Life of Charles A. Dana* (New York, 1907), that the official files of *The Chicago Republican* were destroyed in the fire of 1871. He assumed that no other file was in existence. Other biographers have made the same presumption, and have missed one of the most important periods in Dana's life. This was a period of stock taking on his part; thinking back on the laborious days and nights through which he had passed and of planning for a future of freedom from financial worries.

Dana came to Chicago with the thought of remaining. He had surveyed the scene with his accustomed care and with his

Elmer Gertz, Chicago attorney and writer, was one of the founders and is the current president of the Civil War Round Table of Chicago. In addition to his interest in history he takes an active part in numerous civic organizations. Among the books and pamphlets he has written are: Frank Harris: A Study in Black and White (*with A. I. Tobin*), The People vs. The Chicago Tribune, American Ghettos, *and* A Profile of Carl Sandburg.

usual respect for the facts, taking into consideration the personalities of the town, especially the journalists. He had measured himself against them. He observed in particular that old, young man, Joseph Medill, of the *Tribune.* Medill and his hated and feared rival, Wilbur F. Storey, were the kingpins in the Chicago alleys.

On May 30, 1865, Dana, who was about to resign as Assistant Secretary of War, sent the faithful James H. Wilson a letter outlining his plans:

> I have agreed to go to Chicago to undertake there the editorship of a new daily journal which is about to be established. As you are aware, it has not been my wish to return to my old profession on retiring from office, but to find some sphere of practical or industrial activity; but as nothing of this kind offered itself, and as the inducements to take this place at Chicago were satisfactory, I have waived all scruples and made an agreement to go there. The prospects of pecuniary success seem to me to be very encouraging. Many of the leading politicians of the State, and a great number of the most prominent business men of Chicago, have assured me that no efforts will be wanting on their part to establish the prosperity of the new concern, and I see no reason to doubt that I shall be able not only to make a livelihood there, but to gain a political position in many respects agreeable as well as useful. At any rate, if this anticipation is not realized, it will not be for want of exertion and industry on my part. . . . Of course we shall take a house in Chicago, and when you go there, there will always be a room ready for you.

In Chicago on this same date, while the shots and shells of the War of the Rebellion were still hot and fiery, the new newspaper proclaimed its cool and pristine creed:

> In the organization of the editorial department of *The Chicago Republican* the proprietors have at once elevated their paper above all suspicion of making it the special organ of any man or set of men, or committing it in advance to any peculiar local interests, personal or corporate, in the city or state.

This was aimed at the *Tribune* and its editors for their attempts to gain control of the political party whose name was borne by the new publication.

The first issue of the *Republican* was dated May 30, 1865. On the masthead, separating the first part of the name from

the rest, was an engraving of a printing press. The paper declared that it would take subscriptions for daily, tri-weekly, and weekly editions. It thus intended to be as ambitious in its issues as Greeley's (New York) *Tribune* and its nominal counterpart, the Medill-Bross *Tribune* in Chicago.

On June 7, 1865, the *Republican* begged the indulgence of its readers if it was not fully up to expectations. Mr. Dana, it explained, was still in Washington. He would assume the editorial control on July 1. Two days later an article was reprinted from the *Pittsburgh Leader* extolling the merits of "Honorable Charles A. Dana" and asserting that he would be the center of western journalism. He arrived in Chicago on July 20, and assumed editorial control three days later.

The paper consisted of four unnumbered pages, ten columns to a page—forty bulging columns in all. It was called by some editors the largest paper in America. It had one column per page more than either the *New York Tribune* or *Herald*. Page one contained general and telegraph news from all over the country, with advertisements taking up some of the space. Page two was devoted to editorial and biographical notes, travel bits, book advertisements. During the first few issues, page three contained advertisements on private diseases, the rest of the page being given over to general news, Supreme Court decisions, legal and insurance advertisements and the like. Page four had a few columns devoted to city news, such as fairs, new buildings, and crimes. The rest of the sheet was assigned to advertisements and financial news.

On June 4, 1865, only a few days after the first issue, notes on music and the arts were substituted for the advertisements on private diseases. Shortly stock market news and financial reports were put on pages three and four. Masonic news and ladies' meetings were later given some space. After Dana arrived the advertisements were given less space. More and more space was devoted to crime, travel data, and human interest items. In the first month of Dana's reign, a new fea-

ture appeared on page one—the weather. Dana's *Republican* was never static—he continually experimented in make-up.

Dana's first editorial declared that the policy of the *Republican* was the perpetuation of the unity, the honor, and the power of the republic; the preservation of a genuine democracy, devotion to universal education and healthy morals. It was for universal and equal enjoyment of the elective franchise, and would endeavor to deepen and amplify the sublime principles of democratic freedom and republican government.

Dana declared that he would back the Republican Party and President Andrew Johnson unless they were definitely in the wrong. Then followed a flaming peroration in which he proclaimed his American faith:

> The *Republican* will never forget the duty of keeping alive and glowing that sacred fire of enthusiasm, and that spirit of patriotic and fraternal co-operation which under God's Providence have given to the great Union Party its momentous victories at the polls, and have thus enabled it to vindicate the integrity of the Republic, and make the Starry Banner of Liberty the only stand that waves over all the mighty and magnificent countries that stretch between the lakes and the Rio Grande, and have the Atlantic and Pacific for their eastern and western bounds. With the safety of the Union, the dearest hopes of humanity are still identified; and to this wider progress and still nobler efficiency, let every throb of our hearts and every moment of our lives be unalterably devoted.

Dana had come to Chicago at the instigation of a large number of Republican capitalists for the express purpose of extirpating the *Chicago Tribune*. He had a fine newspaper, the best of machinery, the cleanest and finest of type, and brought with him some able assistants. Dana raided Storey's *Chicago Times* for talent, picking up several good men including the then famous news editor, Harry Scovel.

One remarkable man, Frederick H. Hall, had been brought by Dana and remained with the *Republican* until May, 1867, when he went to the *Tribune* as a reporter, later becoming the city editor. The retentive power of his memory was probably without a rival. He was a complete index and an encyclopedia in one. He was proficient, like Dana, in a dozen

or more languages. He was very retiring in his habits, and seldom was found apart from his official desk except when at home. Hall was noted for his mild sarcasm and cynicism. When interested, he was facile, agreeable, and intelligent. His range of knowledge was almost as broad as Dana's. There were few facts in philosophy, politics, science, religion, physics, law, or history, with which he was not familiar. Before coming to Chicago, Hall had been the private secretary to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.

A month after taking over the *Republican,* Dana noted editorially a cheering "improvement in the Chicago Press," which he, of course, attributed to the establishment of his paper. He then added words for Medill's particular benefit, to the effect that the *Tribune,* having laid aside its acrid and insolent tone, and having become more polite in approaching public affairs, was showing improvement, and that if it studied the *Republican* there was no telling what improvements it might adopt.

Proceeding to the *Times,* he said he was happy to see that it had abdicated its former Copperhead position and had ended its hostility to the Irish. He added that the *Times* was still sputtering about the infamy of Stanton and the wickedness of Dana, an understrapper of Stanton's. Dana enjoyed this immensely.

The *Republican* criticized Editor Medill of the *Tribune* for educational reform proposals, his orthographic novelties, and his opposition to his own paper and party. Dana said he was like Penelope, unraveling by night the web woven by day —his right hand not knowing what his left hand was doing.

On November 1, 1865, the *Republican* appeared in a new form, eight numbered pages, six columns to the page. Advertisements were consigned to the last half of the paper, with the first half devoted largely to news. Page four was given over to editorials. It declared its determination to be the true "Heart of America"; to furnish its readers with the earliest,

clearest, fullest, and most authentic reports of the news, and that capable correspondents and extensive use of the telegraph would surpass anything dreamed of by the New York and London press. It would deal with education, science, literature, art, agriculture, and manufacturing.

On December 4, 1865, the *Republican* offered a family sewing machine to those getting fifteen subscribers. The same day an editorial declared the success of the *Republican* to be "something wonderful and unprecedented in the history of newspapers in this or any other country." To increase circulation canvassers were paid ten per cent commission.

New Year's Day, 1866, was greeted with a brace of editorials. The people were advised to omit alcoholic beverages from their celebrations. Ladies were urged to serve guests hot coffee, chocolate, or other harmless beverages. Then the community was offered "Wisdom for the New Year" in typical Dana style:

> Keep out of debt. Pay as you go. Buy nothing, except the money is in your pocket. Have no account current at the grocer's or butcher's. Go without new clothes till you can pay for them. Give your note of hand to nobody. Eschew credit. Deal for cash only. Subscribe to the *Chicago Republican.*

The *Republican* labeled "Deacon" Bross and Medill, "the repentent politician and phonetic reformer," and demanded that they purge the *Tribune* of its mass of immoral and disgusting advertisements. The *Republican* said it could pardon dullness, but when one for money, encourages vice and corruption in the community, it is inevitable that he will be treated scornfully by those who seek to keep their homes pure from such contamination.

Normally, said the *Republican,* it would not mention Medill at all, were it not for the persistence of the *Tribune* in keeping Medill's name before the people. It, therefore, was no breach of good manners on the part of other papers to express opinions about him. The *Republican* claimed that

Medill had fought the nomination of Lincoln and tried thus to divide the Republican Party.

The *Tribune* deliberately ignored Dana and the *Republican* throughout his stay in Chicago. The *Times* and the *Journal* were frequently mentioned, and also the New York press. This was in marked contrast to the frequent appearance of Dana's name in the *Tribune* during the Civil War.

The *Republican* editorialized on the eight-hour day. Freedom of labor should govern all industrial questions, it said, adding that it did not oppose trade unionism as such, but attacked such organizations for going beyond their legitimate authority and interfering with the freedom of individual workers in an oppressive and tyrannical fashion. The *Republican* warned that the eight-hour day without corresponding reductions in wages would force employers to hire other laborers and thus reduce real wages in the long run. Dana prophesied that the country would survive the eight-hour day, as it had survived the ten-hour day.

Throughout Dana's stay in Chicago there was a great housing shortage induced by the wartime growth of the city. It was strange, the *Republican* said, that capitalists would not invest in house building in view of the urgent demand, the prospects of profit, the assurance of rent payments, and the consequences to the city's trade and commerce. Again and again the paper reverted to the lack of housing, the doubling up of families, the high cost of building. The *Republican* favored the lengthening of the streetcar lines to the suburbs to allow people to live more economically.

Early in January, 1866, the *Republican* discussed the South's hatred for Northern radicals. One would suppose, the paper conjectured, that it might occur to them that radicalism had in it something vitally worth study, understanding, and conciliation, since it seemed bound to possess the future:

> But, like the Bourbons, these unhappy people have forgotten nothing and learned nothing; and probably to the end of time they will continue to

declaim against the radicals, even when they are taking the course which most certainly insures the triumph of radical ideas.

On February 9, 1866, the *Republican* began to express discontent with President Johnson's refusal to speak for complete suffrage rights for Negroes. It disagreed strongly with his contention that the white men of the South should decide if the Negro could vote. On Lincoln's birthday anniversary, the paper declared that President Johnson was not the government, and that final questions of reconstruction were properly and exclusively within the power of Congress. It maintained thenceforth that Congress was right and the President wrong, and it advised Congress to accept the President's view only when that view was just. The paper rose to the defense of the radicals, saying that the abhorrence once felt for the abolitionist was now lavished on the word "radical," but that it, too, would be accepted as was the earlier word.

Then came Johnson's veto of the bill to establish the Freedmen's Bureau. Dana's wrath against Johnson rose to a shriek. He demanded that Congress shove the bill through again. The power of the executive was great, because of his control over patronage, but Dana was sure that no senator or representative would be intimidated by it.

Now it was no longer possible to hurt Johnson, the *Republican* said, the responsibility was his, and every Copperhead must be exulting over his atrocious Lucifer-like sin. The *Republican* urged all to gird up their loins and trust in the God who had guided them through many perils.

On February 23, the *Republican* asserted that Johnson feared assassination, but that the only men capable thereof were his friends. Those who were interested in protecting the poor, the lowly, and the weak were not inclined to murder. Only a slave confederacy could furnish a Booth. Johnson, it said, was a friend of Lincoln's slayers and of the Copperheads.

Thus goaded by Dana, Johnson replied, imputing bad motives to his tormentor. He released the text of a letter that

Dana had written to him from Chicago on January 20, 1866

> Some of my friends in the New York delegation in Congress want m to be Collector of New York. I shall be glad to have that office and accor ingly I address myself directly to you. I have been a resident of New Yo City for nearly 20 years, until a few months since when I came here, o leaving the War Department. I know New York, its merchants and i politicians but by reason of my connection with the War Department, have been absent so as to be free from all identification with the politic factions or personal controversies by which the Union Party there has bee much divided.
>
> I believe that there is no person of any prominence in the party who appointment would give greater general satisfaction than mine. . . .

Dana commented that Johnson evidently thought that th letter, written before his veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bil was a reply to the arguments made against the veto. It wa Dana said, simply the letter of a Republican to the foremo representative of that party. The New York post was sti vacant. Dana said:

> It is now open to aspirants, if such there be, who are able to ada their Republicanism to the shifting opinions and policy of the Presider now Radical and now Copperhead. If any wish to "crook the pregna hinges of the knee that thrift may follow fawning," they still have an exc lent chance. As for the writer of the above letter, he took very good ca to have himself counted out, as soon as the veto message and the speech Feb. 22 determined Mr. Johnson's real character and position, and show that the confidence which had been placed in him was destitute of a solid foundation.

But that letter and others like it were to plague Dana f the rest of his life and give countenance to the belief that, lik Greeley, he was consumed with an unsatisfied craving for pul lic office. He was sensitive to these charges and commente upon the statement of a Detroit paper at the time of the Joh son letter, to the effect that it is wise for editors to stay out public office, saying it was unwise to lay down a special ru for editors, who were like other men, noble, mean, good, an bad—some have tastes for politics, others for literature, som like public office, and some don't.

Dana's competitors in Chicago and elsewhere were quic

to take advantage of his letter to Johnson. Some accused him, as did Johnson, of asking to be bought off by public office. Dana was particularly bitter about Bross and Medill of the *Tribune*. As to Johnson himself, Dana said that even if the President were to convict all other men of dishonesty and falsehood, he could not escape from his own damning record.

Then came the President's veto of the Civil Rights bill, and again an outcry against him by Dana and others. Dana accused Johnson of having lied to Republicans and Democrats alike. When Congress passed the Civil Rights bill over Johnson's veto, the *Republican* said that the law would be enforced or the people would demand to know why not. "No occasion now exists for impeaching the President, but it is plain that if he follows the advice of the furious fools who seem to be gathered around him, it may become necessary to resort to that measure." Later Dana wrote:

> The President is an obstinate, stupid man, governed by preconceived ideas, by whiskey, and by women. He means one thing today and another tomorrow, but the glorification of Andrew Johnson all the time. He is capable of almost any enormity, but he will be foiled and covered with even greater infamy than John Tyler.

Dana had borrowed money while in government service to pay the difference between his meager salary and his actual expenses. He counted upon the large salary which had been promised him as editor to pay his debts and to put his family in better circumstances. His hopes proved unfounded. On April 30, 1866, he wrote to Wilson:

> I shall get out of the concern if I can, unless it is put on a different basis, and means are raised by the capitalists who have invested in it to carry it through in a satisfactory manner. The publisher is a bad man, and not as judicious as he is smart. That is the essence of the trouble. I am holding on to see what will turn up, and also to save too great a sacrifice in the process of extricating myself.

On May 23, 1866, Dana's name as editor and Alonzo W. Mack's as publisher disappeared from the top of the editorial page. No explanation was made for this important change.

Next day the *Republican* announced that it was making a net profit of one hundred dollars a day. In the same issue it declared editorially that the *Chicago Tribune* was the meanest paper in America. The *Tribune* was accused of using the *Times* to circulate lies about the *Republican.* It was said to have sent one of its editors, "a well-known spavined religio-political hack" to the *Times* to procure the insertion in that godless sheet of a story that the *Republican* had sold out to President Johnson's party:

> The price paid is not stated, but, if it was not greater than any sane man would pay for the poor old stealing concern on Clark Street, it would not be sufficient to buy wicking to keep a farthing candle burning through one of Deacon Bross's shortest prayers.

The *New York Independent* of June 14, 1866, declared Dana had made the *Republican* one of the most radical papers in the country, and when the stockholders determined to "Johnsonize" it, Dana promptly resigned. The *Republican* immediately denied this, asserting that Dana left for a different reason. At any rate, till August, and perhaps longer, the *Republican* was consistently anti-Johnson.

Much of the true story came out in a suit Dana filed against *The Chicago Republican* in the United States Circuit Court in March, 1870. In it Dana sought the reformation of a contract and the payment of a note. In his bill Dana alleged that on the first day of June, 1865, he entered into an agreement with the Republican Company whereby the company agreed with Dana, then residing at Washington as assistant secretary of war, that he should become chief editor of the *Republican* for five years from the date of his entering upon his duties, which were to commence as soon as practicable after July 1, 1865; that as editor Dana should have general control and management of the paper and determine its political character; that he should select all assistants and in conjunction with the president of the company fix their compensation, direct them in their duties, and dismiss them when

he thought it necessary; that no article or advertisement should be inserted in the paper of which Dana disapproved; that in consideration thereof, Dana was to receive one-fifth of the capital stock and property of the company without the payment of any money on his part until the other stockholders should have actually paid in $80,000; that the nominal capital was to be $500,000, of which Dana was to get $100,000, and the other stockholders the balance when they paid in twenty per cent.

The bill also alleged that in case of necessity, to insure the success of the *Republican,* all of the stock was liable to assessment. Dana was to receive a salary of $7,500 per year, payable monthly. On January 18, 1866, for the purpose of raising money to pay an assessment on the stock issued to him, Dana gave his note for $5,000 for six months, payable to the order of John Williams, president of the First National Bank of Springfield, a stockholder in the Republican Company. The note was then discounted for the use of the newspaper, and as of the time of the suit it was still unpaid and uncancelled, overdue and with suit threatened. In May, 1866—the bill went on—Dana and the *Republican* agreed to part company. Dana was to surrender his stock and interest in the company. The company was to pay the note given by him and, in addition, pay him $10,000, in quarterly installments, and guarantee him against all claims. The *Republican* failed to pay the note, so Dana filed, with the usual legal flourishes, for judgment.

Ten years later Dana was victorious in this suit. He forced payment of a judgment in his favor for $10,388.69. The Chicago experience, though virtually forgotten by those who have written of Dana, was indubitably worth much more to him than the money judgment.

His victory gave the *Chicago Tribune* occasion for some belated crowing. The *Republican,* it said in a leading editorial on April 2, 1880, had been started for the purpose of outshining the *Tribune;* but it failed miserably, despite Dana.

JOHN H. HAUBERG

JOHN H. HAUBERG "THE STANDING BEAR"

BY O. FRITIOF ANDER

Ah-be-chi-ne-ma-so-ta Ma-qua or "Standing Bear" was the appropriate name given to John H. Hauberg of Rock Island, Illinois, in 1940 when he was made honorary chief of the Mesquakie Indians of Tama County, Iowa. Hauberg has long been interested in Indians and has a reputation as a student and friend of the Indians. To those who know him as a man of the great outdoors, "Standing Bear" is a most suitable name.

After more than four score years of intense enjoyment of nature, and life in general, his vigor and enthusiasm are undiminished. Over a long period of time he has done the unexpected thing at the unexpected time. He has been busy being John H. Hauberg. His sense of values has not been that of the average man. He would list last, and only as incidental, his associations with the Weyerhaeuser and Denkmann Company, the Northern Lumber Company of Cloquet, the Rock Island Millwork, the St. Louis Sash and Door Works, the Tallahala Lumber Company, the Natalbany Lumber Com-

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pany, the Denkmann Lumber Company, and other corporations not a part of the Denkmann and Weyerhaeuser interests. Business and the making of money have not been the most important interests in his life. As a young attorney just out of law school he hoped that his name would always be found among those who contributed to the enrichment of the life of the community. That hope is now a reality.

Hauberg was not familiar with Josiah Royce's philosophy of loyalties back in 1910, but nevertheless he lived by that philosophy. To this unusual man, now past his eighty-second year, the happiest memories cluster around boys' groups, the Sunday School, and the Fife, Drum and Bugle Corps he organized in 1909.

Young boys were naturally attracted to Hauberg because he lived the sort of life which appeals to them. Born November 22, 1869, on a farm named Sugar Grove, five miles north of Hillsdale, Illinois, he missed by just a few years living in the log cabin his grandfather had built in 1853. His early life as a farm boy was spent in doing the ordinary chores on a typical Illinois farm, spending a few months out of the year in the rural school after corn husking was over in the fall, interrupting his learning of the three R's in the winter to haul hay from the "Docia slough,"[1] and again early in March when it was time for plowing. While still on the farm he worked for a time with a hand printing press as a hobby, bought a camera, and tried to learn to play the violin. Then, on coming of age, he was struck by wanderlust, and in 1890 went West in search of adventure.

At Neeleyville, Missouri, he tried his hand at railroad logging. There he slept in a bunkhouse aromatic from the crew's socks and rubber boots fastened above the stove. All around him, men were swearing, chewing, spitting, and drink-

[1] In the Marias d'Osier, an ancient bed of the Mississippi River which was full of wild life when Hauberg was a boy. The slough was one and one half miles northeast of the farm.

ing. These were rough people who soon labeled Hauberg "The Preacher," chiefly because he did not drink whisky. His search for adventure took him to a sawmill in Traskwood, Arkansas, and later he went to Kansas to visit a sister.

Hauberg had already learned to handle horses at the home farm, but not until he reached Wyoming and found employment at Chugwater did he become a cowboy. There he learned to know the wild West and, like his contemporary Theodore Roosevelt, he developed a real love for the great outdoors. He helped brand cattle, rode in roundups, and slept under the open sky. His two bay cow ponies "Santa Claus" and "T-Y Billy," were the kind that every boy would love. Santa Claus was swift as the wind, always ready for a race. T-Y Billy was "just another horse."

Hauberg's family at Sugar Grove had been much interested in song and instrumental music. Singing went hand in hand with life in the great outdoors, and at Chugwater he was introduced to music peculiar to the ranch—the neighing and whinnying of horses, thousands of calves bawling, the sustained howls of wolves and coyotes, and the barking ranch dogs.

His experiences in the West were a great influence on Hauberg. His formal education had been spasmodic and his travels had increased his desire for more learning. He had been taught the catechism at the Lutheran Church at Hampton Bluff, and had spent three to four months each year in the public school for seven years. He had also attended Port Byron Academy part of the winter of 1887. Early in 1893 he enrolled in Duncan's Davenport Business College and was graduated in 1894. He then continued his studies at Valparaiso University in Indiana. There he took what was called "the scientific course." Valparaiso had an accelerated program of fifty weeks' study without any holidays. The school year ended in the middle of August. Work began at 6:30 A.M. and continued until 9 P.M. Hauberg was eager for an education and enrolled

"United Sunday Schools Band of Rock Island and Moline" Begins a "Long Hike"

On June 5, 1915, when this picture was taken, John H. Hauberg and twenty-eight of "his boys" started on an eleven-day, 200-mile trip through northern Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa. Their "train," which also carried their camping equipment, consisted of a hack, a democrat, and a lumber wagon, each drawn by two horses.

in as many courses as possible. He took part in the college choir, debating, and military drills, played tennis, and studied trigonometry, astronomy, geology, zoology, chemistry, physics, physiology, history, Latin, German, and English.

After receiving his B.S. degree at Valparaiso in 1896 and an A.B. in 1897, he enrolled in the law school at the University of Michigan. His father, Marx D. Hauberg, who had helped in part to finance his education at Valparaiso, was now having difficulty in meeting payments on the farm debt, with the result that his son had to work his way through law school. Hauberg, like some of the other law school students, took odd jobs, including dishwashing for a fraternity.

It was in the summer of 1898, while a law student at Ann Arbor, that Hauberg and a friend, William Oliver Lee of Goshen, Indiana, decided to bicycle to Washington, D.C., and New York City. At Detroit they boarded a ship for Erie, Pennsylvania, whence they proceeded by bicycle to Chautauqua, and from there by boat to Jamestown, New York. They continued by tough pedaling over the mountain roads to Harrisburg, via York to Baltimore and Washington. In the capital they slept at a "mission," paying ten cents for a night's lodging. Returning to Baltimore they took a boat to Philadelphia. Then cycling to New York City, they found sleeping accommodations in the shrubbery of Central Park.

Homeward they proceeded by way of Albany, Buffalo, Erie, and Detroit to Ann Arbor. Much of the 1,000 miles was over poor roads and most of the time the bicycle had to be kept in the ruts made by wagons. Gravel and sand made pedaling extremely difficult, but it was a trip to Hauberg's liking.

Hauberg received his LL.B. degree in 1900, and with his diploma tucked away safely, he pedaled his bicycle "Rosinante," named after Don Quixote's steed, back home to Sugar Grove. He felt, however, that he should see more of the world before he hung out his shingle. This time it was Europe that stirred his imagination. His grandfather and father had come

to America from Holstein in 1848. His father was then only a young boy, but he had vivid memories of his childhood and these fascinated the son. The fact that he had no money did not deter Hauberg from a trip to Europe in the fall of 1900. He secured a free ride on a freight train with a carload of hogs his father was shipping to Chicago. He caught another free ride on a cattle train going east from Chicago. In Boston he found employment on a cattle ship which took him across the Atlantic to Liverpool. An uncle had helped him secure a bank loan of $150, which enabled him to visit Holland, Belgium, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

Returning from Europe in May, 1901, Hauberg worked on the farm while preparing for the bar examination, which he passed in the fall. He opened an office in the McKinnie Block in Moline. The young lawyer was unusually civic minded. His interests were soon identified with the Men's Club, the Century Club, the Tri-City Luther League, the Illinois Luther League, the County Sunday School Association, the Moline Local Option Committee, the Grace Lutheran Sunday School, Augustana College and Theological Seminary, the Moline Chautauqua, the Messiah Chorus, Bethany Home for Children, the County Bar Association, the Moline Y.M.C.A., Illinois National Guard and other organizations.

Hauberg married Susanne Christine Denkmann on June 29, 1911. For a time after his marriage he maintained a law office in the Cleveland Building, but the Haubergs did so much traveling that ultimately the law library was stored in the attic. He now devoted himself to various civic groups and became a member of the Board of Directors of Augustana College where he served for more than thirty years. Mrs. Hauberg's family had built the beautiful Denkmann Memorial Library at Augustana in 1910. The Denkmanns and the Weyerhaeusers, related through marriages and associated in business, continued their generous interest in the college.

Working with boys' groups claimed Hauberg's primary attention. He wished to inspire them with a love for the great out-of-doors. His contacts with them were numerous in his Sunday School and Luther League activities. Out of those interests grew the fife, drum and bugle corps, the "United Sunday Schools Band of Rock Island and Moline," organized in 1909. He also organized hikes for boys. During 1909-1917 "long hikes" took place by means of horse drawn wagons. An automobile truck was used for the first time in 1918. In 1920 Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, was visited, and in 1923, Niagara Falls. From twenty-five to seventy-five boys went on these outings lasting approximately two weeks. The Black Hawk Hiking Club was founded by Hauberg for adults interested in hiking and life out-of-doors. Besides the club's local hikes, its annual summer hike, during some thirty years, has taken its members by open trucks across western United States and across the Canadian and Mexican boundaries. The club has at present two hundred members but usually not more than twenty-five to fifty participate in a hike.

Hauberg's interests in the Sunday School had been nonsectarian. For a number of years he was closely associated with the County Sunday School Association which represented an important ecumenical movement in which the laymen supplied the leadership. The United Sunday Schools Band continued to interest him until 1923, but a trend toward sectarianism had caused him to withdraw his support of the Sunday School Association some time previously.

Meanwhile, Hauberg the lawyer had embarked on a crusade against crime and vice. He became the attorney for the Rock Island Law and Order League in September, 1910. Conditions were unbelievably bad and local law enforcement had fallen into the hands of an unscrupulous gang of racketeers and blackmailers headed by John Peter Looney, who ran a newspaper called the *Rock Island News*. Businessmen and

local officials did not wish to challenge Looney. Hauberg began a most hectic and energetic fight against the gangsters. Libel suits were brought against Hauberg, and detectives, whom he and the Law and Order League had hired to gather evidence against Looney, were beaten up and thrown into jail. In spite of failures and personal embarrassments the crusading attorney continued his work, which was climaxed in the 1914 local option election, when the law and order groups were defeated.

There was no aspect of his career that was more discouraging to Hauberg than his crusade against crime and vice. Conditions were even worse in Rock Island after 1918 as Looney became increasingly daring and contemptuous, and "killings, suicides, disbarments of attorneys, and some providential natural deaths" ultimately gave the city a fairly large representation at the state penitentiary. John Looney fled to Mexico and after extradition was convicted of murder in 1925. The public finally had grown indignant, and under the leadership of John W. and Ben H. Potter of *The Argus,* morality and honesty returned to Rock Island.

John Hauberg had long been interested in history and, as soon as he had secured his mail order camera for $4.50 in 1890, photography became one of his more important hobbies. After 1910 he began taking pictures of old pioneers and recording their stories. These records have grown into nearly 150 large volumes of invaluable material on the history of Rock Island County. Hauberg has also a library of 2,500 volumes on local, state and regional history. No person has devoted so much time and effort to preserving the significant stories of the old pioneers as he has.

Hauberg joined the Illinois State Historical Society in 1908. He was on its board of directors from 1917 until 1951, and served as Vice-President from 1930 to 1940, and as President in 1941. Only James A. James, whom Hauberg

succeeded as President, served longer on the board. In the founding of the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine in 1947 he played a most important role.

The Great Sauk Trail from Rock Island to Detroit and the Indian and Military Trail from Rock Island to Yellow Banks, now Oquawka, Illinois, were located by Hauberg, as were the Black Hawk War camp sites of Captain Abraham Lincoln's company. Hauberg has organized, promoted and financed the Indian Pow-wow held annually at Black Hawk State Park since 1940. The Hauberg Museum in the park contains Indian material, the greater portion of which came from his private collection. The establishment of this museum was essentially the work of Hauberg, who had become an authority on Black Hawk. He wrote the *Black Hawk Watch Tower,* a booklet of seventy-eight pages, which laid the groundwork and greatly increased interest in the park. He became the leader in 1942 of the forest preserve movement which led to the creation of several county forest preserves.

Mrs. Hauberg established the Y.W.C.A. Archie Allen Camp for girls in 1921, and Mr. Hauberg started the Y.M.C.A. Camp Hauberg for boys in 1927. The death of Mrs. Hauberg in 1942 was a serious loss. She had been a very good companion. Hauberg and his children have turned over a large fund for a Y.W.C.A. building in Rock Island in her memory. Their children are John Henry, graduate in forestry, tree farming in the state of Washington, and Catherine Hauberg Sweeney, whose husband is an advisor to the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

The Haubergs had shared a common interest in the youth of America, a crusading spirit against liquor and vice, a belief in a future America built upon men and women of sound body and mind fostered through a vigorous outdoor life, and a respect for the great achievements of our pioneer ancestors.

THE UNWANTED MR. LINCOLN

BY WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW

AT Baltimore in June, 1864, Abraham Lincoln was renominated unanimously for the presidency by the Union Party. Though the nomination had been accomplished without opposition there were many signs of smoldering discontent beneath the surface.

Within the Union Party was a large faction of radical Republicans led by such men as Senators Benjamin Wade, Lyman Trumbull, and Charles Sumner, and Representatives Henry Winter Davis and Thaddeus Stevens who did not wish to see Lincoln chosen. They had been forced to acknowledge his claim for renomination only when it was demonstrated that no candidate of sufficient stature could be found to challenge that claim. Booms had been launched for Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase and General Benjamin Butler, but these had expired ingloriously. General John C. Frémont had a small following of abolitionists and German radicals who nominated him at Cleveland on May 31, as the candidate of an ephemeral party known as the Radical Democracy. This group, however, had no effect upon the Union Party convention which met a few days later. The failure to develop a rival

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candidate, the obvious preference of the public for Lincoln, and the interminable pressure of the President's officeholders drove the radical Republicans into grudgingly accepting his renomination at Baltimore.

Shortly afterward, however, circumstances presented themselves which gave the Radicals hope that they could shunt Lincoln aside. General Grant, who had been called to command the Army of the Potomac, suffered stunning defeats in the Wilderness and at Cold Harbor. The rebel general, Jubal Early, added insult to injury when he boldly galloped into Maryland; he encircled Washington and cut communications with the capital for three days. To fill the depleted ranks in Grant's battalions the President had been forced to issue, on July 19, a call for 500,000 volunteers. This did not please the public which had been told earlier that no additional troops would be needed. To add to the gloom, Secretary Chase resigned from the cabinet partly to discomfit Lincoln and partly to free himself so that he could renew his campaign for the presidency. There was a growing demand for peace, and Lincoln sent Horace Greeley to Niagara Falls to see some Southern agents. He also knew that Colonel James Jacquess and James Gilmore went to Richmond for an interview with Jefferson Davis. Both of these missions were fiascoes; there was no hope for a restored Union except by continued fighting. The war weariness and despondency deepened.

The Radicals watched these developments gladly for they offered a chance to remove Lincoln from the presidential race and to nominate a more acceptable candidate. When Lincoln vetoed the radical reconstruction bill in July, 1864 and issued a proclamation explaining that he intended to continue his policy of executive reconstruction, the Radicals were galvanized into action. On August 5, they issued the Wade-Davis Manifesto, a derogatory, malevolent denunciation of the chief executive. They called upon the people to repudiate the President. "No such bomb has been thrown into Washington

before," wrote one of Benjamin Butler's friends, "Seward read it to Lincoln last night. All we can hear so far is that Mr. L. said, 'I would like to know whether these men intend openly to oppose my election,—the document looks that way.' " Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, one of Lincoln's loyal friends, was frothing with anger: "We have Lee & his——— on one side," he cursed, "and Henry Winter Davis & Ben Wade and all such Hell cats on the other." Webster, the chief clerk of the State Department, explained that the manifesto meant "in order to save the country you must make Old Ben Butler President!"[1] The postmaster general, however, did not see the manifesto as the work of the Butlerites but of Chase's men. "It throws off the mask under which the Chase men have been fighting the President," he wrote. "These rascals have been pretending to be good Lincoln men. The 'Blairs' have been their worry. This paper shows that it was Lincoln they hated & not the 'Blairs' who were not in their way & whose only offense was that they supported Lincoln."[2] Both Blair and Gideon Welles accused Wade of seeking the presidency himself.[3] An ugly rumor spread that the two congressional leaders intended to follow up their manifesto with a demand for Lincoln's impeachment.

While his friends fretted and worried, Lincoln took the whole incident with his customary aplomb.[4] His self assurance may have been merely a guise to conceal his worry but on the other hand, he may have seen what the politicians in Washington did not see: namely, the manifesto had not had its desired effect on the public. James Garfield, for example, found it expedient to spike a rumor in his Ohio district that he had helped write the manifesto. Wade was universally

[1] J. K. Herbert to Benjamin Butler, Aug. 6, 1864, in Jessie A. Marshall, ed., *Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler* (Norwood, Mass., 1917), V: 8-9.

[2] Montgomery Blair to D. H. McPhail, Aug. 12, 1864, (Blair MSS, Lib. of Cong.).

[3] Gideon Welles, *Diary* (Boston, 1911), II: 95-96.

[4] Francis Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1866), 145; Welles, *Diary*, II: 98; William E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Indianapolis, 1925), II: 293.

denounced throughout Ohio for uniting with Davis in his protest, and his name was stricken from the list of speakers in the state. Henry Winter Davis became so unpopular in Maryland that he was defeated for re-election.[5] Years later Representative Albert G. Riddle recalled that "Everywhere, North, East, South, and West, the masses were with Mr. Lincoln," but on the other hand, "thinking Union men were quite unanimous in sustaining Mr. Wade and Mr. Davis, as was the majority of both Houses of Congress."[6] It seemed as if Lincoln was supported by the people and opposed by the radical politicians.

As far as Lincoln's re-election was concerned, the politicians in Washington had abandoned all hope. Shortly after the promulgation of the Wade-Davis Manifesto Butler's friend, J. K. Herbert, encountered Thurlow Weed at the Treasury Department. "Lincoln is gone, I suppose you know as well as I," exclaimed the Albany leader, "and unless a hundred thousand men are raised sooner than the draft, the country's gone too."[7] A short time afterward he gave Seward the same dismal news in a confidential letter.[8] A few days later Lincoln requested General Schuyler Hamilton to take the stump. "No, sir—as things stand at present I don't know what in the name of God I could say, as an honest man, that would help you," replied the outspoken general. "Unless you clean these men away who surround you & do something with your army, you will be beaten overwhelmingly." Lincoln admitted, "You think I don't know I am going to be beaten, *but I do* and unless some great change takes place *badly* beaten."[9]

Adam Gurowski noted without much elation that Lincoln's star seemed to be setting: "If the Democrats nominate a *man* at Chicago then Mr. Lincoln's fate is settled, and the

[5] Theodore Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield* (New Haven, 1925), I: 378-79; Welles, *Diary*, II: 121-22; L. E. Chittenden, *Personal Reminiscences, 1840-1890* (New York, 1893), 314-15.

[6] Albert G. Riddle, *Recollections of War-Times* (New York, 1895), 305.

[7] Herbert to Butler, Aug. 6, 1864, *Correspondence of Butler*, V: 9-10.

[8] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), IX: 250.

[9] Herbert to Butler, Aug. 11, 1864, *Correspondence of Butler*, V: 35-37.

Republican party is upset for perhaps a long time." The only bright spot seemed to be that no "man" could stomach the "base and degraded" creed of the Democratic Party. A few days later, however, he amended his opinion and claimed that the Democrats could "nominate and elect almost any one they chose."[10]

As the portents became gloomier, the national executive committee of the Republican Party assembled in New York on August 22; the chairman, Henry Raymond, penned Lincoln a lengthy report of the discussion. He assured Lincoln that, according to Elihu Washburne, Simon Cameron, and Governor Oliver Morton, it was impossible to carry Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Indiana; and New York would also be lost by at least 50,000 votes. He blamed this situation on the lack of military success and the fear that peace was impossible unless slavery was abolished. Raymond suggested Lincoln should publicly state that the abolition of slavery was not a *sine qua non* for peace, and make some overtures toward Richmond for ending the war.[11] On the same day, Weed, who was probably present at this meeting, wrote Seward an equally illuminating letter on the situation:

> When, ten days since, I told Mr. Lincoln that his re-election was an impossibility, I also told him that the information would soon come to him through other channels. . . . At any rate nobody here doubts it, nor do I see anybody from other States who authorizes the slightest hope of success. . . . The people are wild for peace. They are told the President will only listen to terms of peace on condition [that] slavery be abandoned. . . . Mr. Raymond thinks commissioners should be immediately sent to Richmond offering to treat for peace on the basis of Union.[12]

The infectious despair had spread even to the President. On August 23, Lincoln took steps to chart his future course of action which he predicated on the assumption that he was to lose. He carefully wrote a brief note in which he pledged

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[10] Adam Gurowski, *Diary* (Washington, 1862-66), III: 304-5, 315.

[11] Henry Raymond to Abraham Lincoln, Aug. 22, 1864, in Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, IX: 218-19.

[12] Thurlow Weed to William Seward, Aug. 22, 1864, *ibid.*, IX: 250.

co-operation with his successor to win the war between the election and the inauguration. This note was folded, sealed, and given to the cabinet members for their signature.

On August 25, Raymond and his committee paid a visit to Washington to urge Lincoln to accept the recommendation made in the editor's letter three days earlier. In the light of what had occurred at Niagara Falls and the Richmond visit, Raymond's suggestion seemed wholly unfeasible, and Lincoln finally convinced them that to begin peace overtures would have serious and costly consequences. Lincoln was careful not to reveal his anxiety over his impending defeat; after a few smiles and probably a few of his customary anecdotes, he dismissed the committee, which according to Nicolay, "went home encouraged and cheered."[13]

It was not so with the extremists who were busily engaged in trying to force Lincoln from the nomination. As early as June 9, Gurowski had written, "Many have not yet made up their minds to go for him. . . . It is probable that a new Republican convention may be called, and a new nomination made."[14] As early as August 6 a group of malcontents assembled in Hamilton, Ohio, to consider the possibility of prevailing upon Lincoln and Frémont to withdraw so that a new convention could be called at Buffalo on September 22. Representative Davis signed copies of the Buffalo call and franked them out together with copies of his now defunct reconstruction bill. When the first call failed to bear fruit, a second was issued for a convention at Buffalo and the date was advanced but this aroused no better response.

Though the Hamilton meetings failed, they did give rise to more gatherings of the same sort in New York where a movement was started which crystallized about a proposed convention at Cincinnati in September. Colonel John Shaffer, Butler's confidential leg-man, ambled about Ohio making con-

[13] *Ibid.*, IX: 221.
[14] Gurowski, *Diary*, III: 251-52.

tacts with many of the dissatisfied and reported that most favored a new convention if the Democrats nominated a peace candidate or drew up a peace platform. Lincoln's old legal associate, Leonard Swett, intended to visit Washington to "tell Lincoln that it is the judgment of all the best politicians in this city and elsewhere, that he can't carry three states, and ask him to be prepared to draw off immediately after the Chicago Convention."[15] Greeley felt that the party might save itself by nominating Grant, Butler, or William Sherman; John Forney said, "We would see Mr. Lincoln himself, out of the canvass . . . if by such a surrender we could save the country from the election of representatives of a dishonorable peace on the basis of separation."[16]

In compliance with the appeals being voiced on every hand for a new convention, a group of malcontents arranged a meeting at the home of New York Mayor George Opdyke on August 18. The gloom which covered the nation at that moment was almost impenetrable. The Opdyke meeting was propelled by such journalistic leaders as Greeley, Parke Godwin of the *Evening Post,* and George Wilkes of *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times;* and such political luminaries as Wade, Davis, Governor John Andrew of Massachusetts, Senator Sumner, and David Dudley Field. About twenty-five men were present at this conference. They were convinced that "none of the Candidates for the Presidency already presented can command the united confidence and support of all loyal and patriotic men," and therefore they urged all who agreed to attend a convention at Cincinnati on September 28, "to concentrate the Union strength on some one candidate who commands the confidence of the country even by a new nomination if necessary."[17] Each man who attended this meeting was given a

[15] John Shaffer to Butler, Aug. 17, 1864, *Correspondence of Butler,* V: 67-69.
[16] Henry L. Stoddard, *Horace Greeley, Printer, Editor, Crusader* (New York, 1946), 227; *Washington Chronicle,* Aug. 16, 1864.
[17] Shaffer to Butler, Aug. 29, 1864, *Correspondence of Butler,* V: 116-17; Henry G. Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrew: Governor of Massachusetts, 1861-1864* (Boston, 1904), II: 159-61.

stack of these calls with instructions to send them to prominent men throughout the country, who in turn were to send their replies to John Austin Stevens, Jr. so arrangements could be made for a second meeting at the home of Field on August 30.

The Opdyke meeting may have been engineered primarily in the interests of Chase. Judge David Davis, Gideon Welles, and Editor Samuel Bowles reported that he still entertained hopes of being nominated.[18] Chase toured New England during August, visiting most of the Radicals. He knew of the proposed Opdyke meeting, and there were rumors that he would attend. Although he wrote in his journal that he had little faith in the meeting, he sent a representative.[19] Many of the men who were most active in New York and who attended the meeting were treasury agents or very good friends, including Opdyke himself and the financial leader John Stevens. The fact that they chose Cincinnati, Chase's home town, seems somewhat significant; and the two earlier calls emanating from Butler County, Ohio, were signed by L. D. Campbell, a Chase leader in this very pro-Chase section.

The evidence that the Opdyke meeting was called to advance Chase for the presidency is purely circumstantial, but by the process of elimination he seems to be the only candidate they could have endorsed. Both Lincoln and Frémont were out of the question, and Butler probably was, too, because Andrew, who was one of the most influential men at the meeting and, according to Shaffer, the author of the call, was a political opponent of Butler's for many years.[20] This left only Chase and Grant as possible nominees, and the latter with his commitments in Virginia and his oft repeated assertions that he would not run for political office during the war, left Chase as the only man who was willing and able to run.

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[18] Thurlow Weed Barnes, *Memoir of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1884), II: 445; G. S. Merriam, *Life and Times of Samuel Bowles* (New York, 1885), I: 413; Welles, *Diary*, II: 120.

[19] *Miscellaneous Journal*, Aug. 3, 4, 7, 11, 12, 19, 1864 (Salmon Chase MSS Lib. of Cong.).

[20] Shaffer to Butler, Aug. 29, 1864, *Correspondence of Butler*, V: 116.

While the calls for the new convention were being distributed, steps were taken to secure the withdrawal of Frémont and Lincoln so that all obstacles in the way of a new convention would be removed. About August 20, a group of abolitionists in Boston addressed a letter to Frémont concerning the possibility of his withdrawing; Frémont's reply indicated that he could not take this step without consulting the party which had nominated him, but assured them he would abide by the decisions of a new convention. In spite of the fact that Weed and others assured Lincoln his re-election was an impossibility, he gave no formal statement concerning his willingness to withdraw and abide by the judgment of a new convention.

No effort was made to force the President into declaring his position; for such action was unnecessary until the reaction to the Opdyke circulars and the outcome of the Field meeting was ascertained. The prominent men to whom the calls had been addressed began sending their replies to Stevens. Winter Davis wrote that he favored the movement which was certain to gain considerable support in New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, and Michigan. He had sent one of his friends to sound out Cameron and Curtin. He reported that Wade was in favor of delaying the Field meeting until after the Democratic convention at Chicago on August 29, and also that he was trying to line up the support of Governor Richard Yates of Illinois.[21] John Jay suggested that letters be written to Lincoln urging him to withdraw. "Lincoln," he maintained, "would have to reply to a letter from a respectable body of signers, and the discussion may do some good and enable us to elicit pledges and secure changes from Lincoln as the condition of our support."[22] Butler wrote from Lowell, Massachusetts, that he could not attend but recommended Fisher Hildreth of Lowell and N. C. Upham of Concord, New Hamp-

[21] Henry Davis to George Opdyke, Aug. 25, 1864; Davis to [John Stevens?], Aug. 25, 1864, *New York Sun,* June 30, 1889. Letters 4, 5.

[22] John Jay to [Stevens?], Aug. 29, 1864, *ibid.,* Letter 7.

shire, as men who could speak for him at the meeting. Lucius Robinson proposed either John Dix or Grant as possible nominees and said, "The action at Baltimore on the 7th of June was the most stupid political suicide that I have ever known. It might and should have been prevented. I do not see how the dead can now be raised."[23]

Chase reported that he was not sure how he stood on the matter and could not attend the meeting because of previous commitments.[24] Greeley also begged off because he had to be absent from town, but assured Opdyke that he heartily endorsed the plan and that the country needed a new ticket "with or without a convention."[25] Richard Smith of the *Cincinnati Gazette* replied, "The people regard Mr. Lincoln's candidacy as a misfortune . . . I do not know a Lincoln man in all our correspondence, which is large and varied, and I have seen few letters from Lincoln men."[26] He added, however, that Lincoln would have to withdraw voluntarily for the people would not accept any movement to force him out. Whitelaw Reid of the same paper was also agreeable toward the project.[27] Other favorable responses were received from N. McBride, Emil Pretorius, Amasa Walker, G. B. Sedgwick, and Daniel S. Dickinson.[28]

On the other hand, there were a few dissenting voices. Wade advised them to deliberate further before acting. Roscoe Conkling asserted that he "did not approve of the call or of the movement" and, therefore, could neither sign it nor present it to others to sign.[29] Thomas Williams refused to affix his signature because he was pledged to the Baltimore nomina-

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[23] Butler to [Stevens?], Aug. 29, 1864; Lucius Robinson to [Stevens?], Aug. 29, 1864, *ibid.*, Letters 13, 15, 16.

[24] Chase to Opdyke, Aug. 18, 1864, *ibid.*, Letter 2.

[25] Greeley to Opdyke, Aug. 18, 1864, *ibid.*, Letter 1.

[26] Richard Smith to [Stevens?], Aug. 27, 1864, *ibid.*, Letter 9.

[27] Whitelaw Reid to [Stevens?], Sept. 2, 1864, *ibid.*, Letter 24.

[28] Letters to [Stevens?] from N. McBride, Aug. 31, 1864; Emil Pretorius, Sept. 1, 1864; Amasa Walker, Aug. 29, 1864; G. B. Sedgwick, Aug. 27, 1864; Daniel Dickinson, Aug. 26, 1864, *ibid.*, Letters 7, 10, 12, 20, 22.

[29] Roscoe Conkling to John Stevens, Aug. 24, 1864, *ibid.*, Letter 11.

tion.[30] J. S. Prettyman, of Delaware, felt that the proposed meeting might have some salutary value if it scared Lincoln into line, but there was too much danger that it would merely split the party.[31] J. W. Shafer felt that the call "took a backhand lick at the President," while Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, said that it was futile to call a new convention when the old candidates were still in the field and when there was no change in policy to justify such a call.[32]

The meeting took place at the home of Field on the appointed day, August 30, 1864. Wilkes, who was present, wrote later that all the delegates "came to the conclusion that it was useless and inexpedient to attempt to run Mr. Lincoln in the hope of victory against the blind infatuation of the masses in favor of McClellan."[33] They resolved to go through with their original plan for a convention at Cincinnati, and a committee was appointed to wait upon the President for his approval. In anticipation that Lincoln would refuse to leave the race, it was decided to meet anyway "to settle whether the friends of the country should nominate a new candidate (probably Grant) or continue for Lincoln."[34] It was also decided that Greeley, Godwin, and Theodore Tilton of the *Independent* were to send out joint letters to the loyal governors asking three questions: (1) Can Lincoln be re-elected? (2) Can your state be carried for Lincoln? (3) Should there be another candidate? Other letters of similar vein went to prominent editors and public men.[35] The meeting received one rude blow when Governor Andrew refused to attend. Andrew had been most active at the Opdyke meeting, but now announced he would support Lincoln. He had read the ac-

[30] Thomas Williams to [Stevens?], Aug. 31, 1864, *ibid.*, Letter 18.
[31] J. S. Prettyman to [Stevens?], Aug. 31, 1864, *ibid.*, Letter 19.
[32] J. W. Shafer to [Stevens?], Aug. 27, 1864; Jacob Collamer to [Stevens?], Aug. 25, Sept. 1, 1864, *ibid.*, Letters 6, 8, 23.
[33] Wilkes to Elihu Washburne, Aug. 31, 1864 (Washburne MSS, Lib. of Cong.).
[34] Francis Lieber to Charles Sumner, Aug. 31, 1864, Frank Freidel, *Francis Lieber, Nineteenth-Century Liberal* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 351.
[35] Pearson, *Life of Andrew*, II: 161-63.

counts of the Jacquess-Gilmore mission in the press and learned that Lincoln had insisted upon emancipation as one of the terms of peace; this satisfied the Governor.

By September 1, Lincoln's personal popularity was apparently at such a low ebb that Gurowski wrote, "I still hope that some better light will rise on the Republican horizon."[36] Were the prospects as black as Lincoln and the Radicals believed? In the absence of an accurate yardstick to appraise popular opinion in 1864 such a task is difficult and a definite answer is impossible. It may well have been, however, that even though morale was quite low in August, Lincoln would have won the election anyway. Richard Smith of the *Cincinnati Gazette* wrote during the depth of gloom, "I think we shall be able to rally our people around the *cause* and elect Mr. Lincoln even as it is."[37] There is undoubtedly much truth in this, for Lincoln was a symbol of a unified country, and though his personal prestige may have been tarnished by the misfortunes of the summer, the people would still have voted for him because he was the candidate of the Union cause. Noah Brooks later noted, regarding the foment in Washington over the coming election, that "to some degree, although not to the extent that Washington politicians believed, the country was responsive to the excitement which prevailed at the national capital."[38]

In the absence of a political poll one way to appraise the grass roots opinion in 1864 is through the local press. Carl Sandburg indicated that during the summer the small town Union editors, who were closest to the people, never faltered in their support of Lincoln.[39] Their stand seems to indicate that the people were also behind him. They knew the dislikes, prejudices, and thoughts of their subscribers, and they were

[36] Gurowski, *Diary*, III: 329.
[37] Richard Smith to [Stevens?], Aug. 27, 1864, *New York Sun*, June 30, 1889, Letter 9.
[38] Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York, 1896), 130.
[39] Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (New York, 1939), II: 591; William Zornow, "The Attitude of the Western Reserve Press on the Re-election of Lincoln," *Lincoln Herald*, Vol. L, no. 2 (June, 1948), 35-39.

always reflective of the population which they served. The people supported only the papers which thought as they did. When the small town editors, therefore, retained their loyalty for Lincoln during the dark months of 1864, when all the Washington observers were predicting his defeat, they were merely reflecting the continued loyalty of the people.

Whatever antipathy may have been felt toward Lincoln melted away during the first week of September with an almost miraculous suddenness, which seems to indicate that it was actually quite superficial. The military situation changed abruptly with the remarkable victories of General William T. Sherman in Georgia, which paved the way for one of the most astounding denouements in history.

The Democrats, who had been patiently biding their time watching Lincoln's and the Unionists' discomfiture with unconcealed pleasure, assembled in Chicago for their own convention in August. General George B. McClellan was nominated on a platform which branded the war a failure and called for an immediate armistice and an eventual convention of the states. McClellan repudiated this part of the platform, but by so doing he seriously weakened the party. The peace element refused to support the candidate and a movement was begun to call a new convention, strongly reminiscent of what had happened to the Unionists a few weeks earlier. The Unionists were quick to sense the implication of treason in the platform, and they launched a vigorous campaign to prove that the Democratic Party was "the northern wing of the southern rebellion."[40]

The prospects of Lincoln's re-election began to brighten almost immediately after the promulgation of the Chicago platform, for most of the Union Party leaders and the Radicals were inclined to view it as treasonable. Many Democrats agreed and hastened to join them. The Chicago platform put

[40] William Zornow, "Treason as a Campaign Issue in the Re-election of Lincoln," *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, Vol. V, no. 6 (June, 1949), 348-63.

a damper on the proposed new convention that had been planned at the Opdyke and Field meetings. There was still some talk on the subject, but the Democrats' action had made the move impossible.

Events were rapidly shaping in Georgia to prove that the Democrats' "war failure" plank was a palpable lie. On July 18, President Davis replaced the cautious Joseph E. Johnston with fiery John B. Hood as commander of the Confederate troops in Georgia. Hood prepared to deliver a heavy blow against Sherman before Atlanta. It was a desperate throw by a gambler who was risking all on one last chance. If Sherman could be shaken or driven back, it was almost certain that Lincoln would never be re-elected, and March 4 would find the peace crowd in Washington presiding over a truncated Union. If the gamble failed, there would be no recourse but a Confederate evacuation of Atlanta and the re-election of Lincoln would be a certainty. The gambler threw and lost; Lincoln heard on September 4 that Atlanta had capitulated. The balance was swinging; the Democrats' threat began to recede, and within a few weeks the dissenters in the Union Party were "all making tracks to Old Abe's plantation."[41]

The victory at Atlanta was, therefore, the turning point of the canvass of 1864. "The fall of Atlanta," wrote one of Welles' friends, "puts an entirely new aspect upon the face of affairs. The McClellan party is in check—God be praised."[42] Butler told his wife, "The good news from Atlanta has set the people wild. I think one more success and McL's chances vanish."[43] Sedgwick, one of the men who had been most interested in the proposed convention in Cincinnati, wrote to John Austin Stevens that the time had passed for such action and Lincoln's removal was impossible.[44] Winter Davis, on the day

[41] *New York Herald,* Aug. 24, 1864.
[42] Henry Elliot to Welles, Sept. 5, 1864 (Welles MSS, Lib. of Cong.).
[43] Butler to his wife, Sept. 5, 1864, *Correspondence of Butler,* V: 125.
[44] G. B. Sedgwick to [Stevens?], Sept. 7, 1864, *New York Sun,* June 30, 1889, Letter 26; Sedgwick to John Forbes, Sept. 5, 1864, in Sarah Hughes, *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes* (Boston, 1899), II: 101.

the war news broke, implored Stevens to issue the call for the new convention soon, or it would be too late.[45]

Though Lincoln seemed now a certain winner, there were still many fences to be mended, rivals to be placated, and prodigals to be welcomed back into the fold. After Hood's defeat John Murray Forbes, a prime mover in the demand for a new convention, suggested a meeting in New York of some men from the West who would organize the campaign and advise Lincoln. He especially feared that Lincoln might be induced by Raymond and others to begin negotiations with the South, feeling that Davis might be willing to listen to some terms after the victory in Georgia.[46] Governor Andrew, who had refused to attend the conference at Field's home, agreed with Forbes that since Lincoln's re-election seemed certain some of the "men of motive and ideas [should] get into the lead" assume control of the "machine and 'run it' themselves."[47] He, too, feared the President might yield to the saccharine persuasions of Raymond and others who were talking about offering Davis terms, and to forestall such action he arranged for a meeting in New York on September 12. Letters were written to the governors of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, urging them to join him in Washington to "rescue" Lincoln from "those who for the want of political and moral courage . . . are tempting and pushing him to an unworthy and disgraceful offer to compromise with the leaders of the rebellion."[48]

There was no large meeting in New York on September 12 as planned, but there had been a great deal of personal consultation and written exchanges during the preceding week. The forces of opposition were melting away before the sun of Lincoln's revived popularity. Those who did gather in New York on the appointed day were a whipped lot, and

[45] Davis to [Stevens?], Sept. 4, 1864, *New York Sun*, June 30, 1889, Letter 25.
[46] Pearson, *Life of Andrew*, II: 164-65.
[47] Andrew to Forbes, Sept. 4, 1864, *ibid.*, II: 166.
[48] Andrew to the three governors, *ibid.*, II: 168-69.

the projected Cincinnati convention was abandoned ingloriously. Wilkes wrote to Butler, "If we could only get a convention together we could make it the master of the situation, in spite of the Lincoln influence . . . I confess, however, the prospect now looks very slim."[49] To save the faces of the conspirators, Wilkes suggested they might "call mass meetings in every state, and request the people to inscribe their preferences on their ballots, by way of instructing the President how to form a government. . . . This will enable us, here, to get gracefully out of the failure of the . . . convention."[50] The machinations, nevertheless, were finished; Weed, who had kept an eagle eye on the whole sorry procedure, wrote to Seward a few days after the requiem was sung in New York for the departed spirit of the Cincinnati convention:

> The conspiracy against Mr. Lincoln collapsed on Monday last [September 12]. It was equally formidable and vicious, embracing a larger number of leading men than I supposed possible. Knowing that I was not satisfied with the President, they came to me for cooperation, but my objection to Mr. Lincoln is that he has done too much for those who now seek to drive him out of the field.[51]

Governor Andrew, Forbes, and their colleagues, bearing letters from Governors Yates of Illinois and John Brough of Ohio, hastened to Washington and implored Lincoln to listen to no more talk of peace while the rebellion was tottering.

Though the threat of a new convention had expired as Sherman's veterans swung through the streets of Atlanta, there remained Frémont's divertive Radical Democratic Party, which was still very much alive. The next problem was to inter it with the remains of the Cincinnati convention, and forces had been set in motion early in August with that objective in mind. Thanks largely to the efforts of Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, Frémont voluntarily withdrew from the race on September 22. At the same time Lincoln

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[49] Wilkes to Butler, Sept. 15, 1864, *Correspondence of Butler,* V: 134-35.
[50] *Ibid.,* V: 135.
[51] Weed to William Seward, Sept. 20, 1864 (Robert Lincoln MSS, Lib. of Cong.).

further sought to pacify the Radicals by requesting the resignation of Postmaster General Blair, who had often been denounced as an arch conservative. Blair, decapitated for the sake of party unity, felt no animosity over being sacrificed. Within a few days he was participating in the Maryland canvass urging Lincoln's re-election.

The good news of Atlanta had scarcely been made known when the victory snowball gained additional momentum. Sheridan smashed back the advancing Confederates at Winchester, while Admiral Farragut turned his guns successfully upon the enemy at Mobile. Nothing succeeds like success—the malcontents were trooping back aboard Lincoln's bandwagon. Wade and Davis were placated by the removal of Blair. Senators Wilson of Massachusetts and Trumbull of Illinois entered the canvass early in September. Edward Everett, who had opposed Lincoln in 1860, was won over, while Senator Sumner, now fully reconciled to having the Railsplitter again, urged all former supporters of the old Bell-Everett ticket to follow their leader's example.[52] Even Thad Stevens declared: "Let us forget that he [Lincoln] ever erred, and support him with redoubled energy."[53] Representative George Boutwell of Massachusetts, Dickinson of New York, Whitelaw Reid, and Anna Dickinson, all former opponents of Lincoln's re-election hastened to attest their newly discovered devotion.[54] Grant was induced to write a letter endorsing the chief executive's re-election. Chase made a trip to Washington, and after a secret talk with Lincoln, departed for the hustings in Ohio. Gurowski insisted that Chase had been offered the chief justiceship.

Lincoln needed the support of the press. Greeley, who

[52] Charles Sumner, *Works* (Boston, 1894), IX: 68-69.

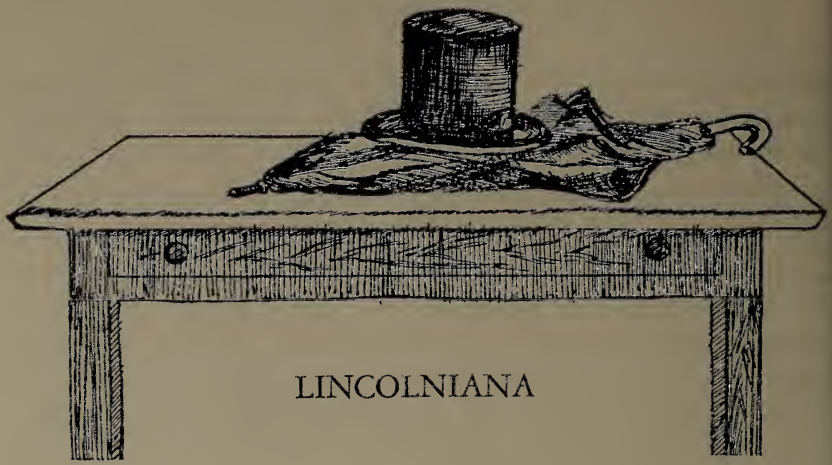
[53] Alphonse B. Miller, *Thaddeus Stevens* (New York, 1939), 146-47; Richard Current, *Old Thad Stevens: A Story of Ambition* (Madison, Wis., 1942), 203-4; Stevens to Justin Morrill, Oct. 7, 1864 (Morrill MSS, Lib. of Cong.).

[54] George S. Boutwell, *Speeches and Papers Relating to the Rebellion and the Overthrow of Slavery* (Boston, 1867), 347; Reid to Stevens, Sept. 24, 1864; Daniel Dickinson to Stevens, Sept. 23, 1864, *New York Sun*, June 30, 1889, Letters 30, 31; *New York Independent*, Sept. 8, 1864.

had often changed his position on Lincoln, now came out in his favor. It was claimed that Lincoln offered him a cabinet post.[55] James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald* joined the swelling chorus, after he apparently was offered the French mission.[56] Forbes was reputed to have brought William Cullen Bryant over to Lincoln's side.[57]

From all sides the dissident leaders hastened back to renew their fealty to Lincoln's administration. Every effort was being expended to defeat the allegedly treasonable Democratic Party. The Radicals, however, had renewed their loyalty with crossed fingers, for most of them intended to revive the struggle after the vicissitudes of the campaign were safely behind them. Colonel Shaffer voiced the feeling of the majority when he wrote to Butler a week before the canvass closed, "I promised Tremain that after the smoke of the election was well cleared away that I would go to New York with a number of our live men and arrange for a general attack front and rear on Lincoln."[58] There was no doubt that once Lincoln was safely inaugurated the conflict over reconstruction and the Negro would be renewed with all its intensity.

[55] Don C. Seitz, *Horace Greeley* (Indianapolis, 1926), 266-70.
[56] Don C. Seitz, *The James Gordon Bennetts: Father and Son* (Indianapolis, 1928), 191-95.
[57] Pearson, *Life of Andrew*, II: 164.
[58] Shaffer to Butler, Oct. 31, 1864, *Correspondence of Butler*, V: 305-6.



LINCOLNIANA

THE FAMOUS "CHICKEN BONE" CASE

Fire bells clanged and light sleepers were out in a few minutes hurrying to the blazing livery stable behind the Morgan House in Bloomington, Illinois. It was midnight, October 16, 1855, and soon more than four thousand people were milling around in the way of the firemen hopelessly battling the spreading blaze. At four o'clock all the buildings except two in the block south of the McLean County Courthouse were gone.[1]

William Green, a drayman, was killed, and Samuel G. Fleming, a carpenter, was seriously injured when the Morgan House chimney fell. Fleming had both thighs broken and little hope for his recovery was given by Doctors Thomas P. Rogers, Jacob R. Freese, and Eli K. Crothers after examining him. Removed to his brother's house, the three physicians bound his legs in splints. Fleming made a surprising recovery and three weeks later the doctors removed the splints for examination. The left leg was straight and healing well, but the right leg was crooked. After consultation, the doctors proposed to Fleming that they break the adhesions and reset the limb. He agreed, and his brother and sister concurred. Dr. Freese and Isaac M. Small, his medical student, administered the chloroform, and Dr. Rogers began pulling on the leg. Fleming screamed and cried out, "hold on, hold on," declaring he would rather have a crooked leg than undergo such pain. Dr. Crothers explained to him that the leg would always be crooked

[1] The McLean County Bank and Dietrich & Bradner's Hardware were saved. The *Central Illinois Times* printing office was destroyed and the *Bloomington Pantagraph* suffered a $2,000 loss. (Springfield, *Illinois State Journal,* Oct. 17, 1855.) Unless otherwise footnoted, all data is taken from the court record and files. These scattered files were brought together in the circuit clerk's office in Lincoln, Ill. by James T. Hickey, Elkhart, Ill. Two affidavits and a plea were written by Lincoln.

and might not bear his weight. "Leave it alone," said Fleming; and his relatives concurred. Five months later it had healed, but was misshapen and crooked as Dr. Crothers had declared it would be.

Fleming thereupon hired six lawyers[2] and filed suit on March 28, 1856, in the McLean Circuit Court, declaring that the physicians "not regarding their said duty but intending and contriving to injure the said plaintiff," had not used "due and proper care, skill or diligence." He also complained that "neither right leg nor left leg would knit and unite together, but on the contrary thereof joined together in so unsightly and unnatural a manner that said legs, and each of them, are crooked, misshapen and useless." Fleming asked for $10,000 damages.

Only Doctors Crothers and Rogers were mentioned in the complaint, and they sought counsel of four Bloomington lawyers: David Brier, Jesse Birch, L. L. Strain and Andrew W. Rogers. The doctors also hired Abraham Lincoln and his former law partner, John T. Stuart, of Springfield. This was to offset the plaintiff's counsel, Leonard Swett, perhaps the best student of medicine, anatomy, and mental disorders, among central Illinois lawyers.

Lincoln and Stuart, then engaged in the Logan County Circuit Court, had only a week to prepare their defense. The spring term of the McLean court opened in Bloomington on Monday, April 7, 1856, and two days later Lincoln filed his affidavit, signed also by Stuart, setting forth that the defendants could not go to trial "in the supposed malpractice case," because Dr. Rogers, "the major physician, is now so unwell as to be unable to attend at the present term of court." Judge David Davis continued the case to the fall term, with the defendants paying the costs.

At the September term, Lincoln wrote and filed the affidavit of Dr. Crothers asking further continuance of the case because Dr. Freese had moved to Cincinnati. So suddenly had he moved away there was no time to take his deposition. The defendants could not safely go to trial without the deposition because of Dr. Freese's detailed knowledge of the case. He was present when the plaintiff's right leg "was first set; that at the end of fourteen days he was present and saw the limb examined, and saw that it was right then"; and on the "twenty-second day was again present when the displacement of the fracture was observed." The defendants also intended to prove by Dr. Freese, wrote Lincoln, "that the injury was an oblique

[2] The plaintiff's attorneys were: (1) Leonard Swett, Colby College graduate, Mexican War veteran, leading lawyer in Bloomington, and after 1865, in Chicago for twenty-four years; (2) William Ward Orme, partner of Swett, a brigadier general in the Civil War; the partners (3) William H. Hanna and (4) John M. Scott—the latter succeeded Judge David Davis on the Eighth Circuit in 1862; (5) Asahel Gridley, the oldest practicing lawyer in McLean County, and his partner, (6) John H. Wickizer, captain in the Quartermaster Corps in the Civil War.

fracture, and only lacked the cutting of the skin of being a compound fracture, and that all the pressure admissable was put on the broken bone." These facts could not be proved so fully by any other witness. Again Judge Davis continued the case, to the April 1857 term, at the cost of the defendants.

After thus getting the case postponed for a year, Lincoln and Stuart and their four colleagues now prepared for the spring trial. Dr. Crothers took Lincoln aside and coached him in the chemistry of bone growth, and the changes wrought in bone structure and the changes in organic matter brought on by advancing age; the ease with which fractures heal in the young in comparison with the mature person. Demonstrating with chicken bones, Dr. Crothers made his points clear to Lincoln. Whereupon the attorney seized on the bones as the best means of making things clear to the jury.

Lulu Crothers, daughter of Dr. Crothers, in recalling family tradition of the case wrote as follows:

> He [Lincoln] could not remember about the lime or calcium deposited in older peoples' bones—so he used the expression, "This bone has the starch all taken out of it—as it is in childhood." Mr. Lincoln asked Mr. Fleming, "Can you walk at all?" His answer was—"Yes, but my leg is short so I have to limp." Mr. Lincoln won his case after saying—"Well! What I would advise *you* to do is to get down on your *knees* and thank your Heavenly Father, and also these two Doctors that you have any legs to stand on at all."[3]

Fifteen doctors and twenty-one other witnesses were called by the plaintiff, whereas the defense subpoenaed the remaining twelve doctors in town. Thus on one side or the other, were not only all the doctors in Bloomington, but two each from Clinton and Springfield.[4] It took a week to hear the witnesses and the lawyers. The trial excited great interest and the courtroom was filled during its continuance. The jury had not arrived at a decision after eighteen hours, and was then dismissed and the case put over to the next term.[5]

The trial of Isaac Wyant for the murder of Anson Rusk, with Lincoln opening and closing the case, had occupied the time of the court throughout the first week of the term. With the malpractice case taking up the second week, Judge Davis called a special term in June 1857. When it met he continued the malpractice case to the September term.

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[3] Lulu M. Crothers to Sherman D. Wakefield, Oct. 30, 1935. Rachel Crothers, author of several Broadway plays, and Lulu, were daughters of Dr. Eli K. Crothers. Only two Lincoln books have taken notice of this malpractice case: Milton H. Shutes, *Lincoln and the Doctors* (New York, 1933), and Sherman D. Wakefield, *How Lincoln Became President.* I am indebted to Wakefield for a copy of the letter of Lulu Crothers.

[4] Witnesses were paid one dollar a day.

[5] *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph,* April 11, 1857.

Lincoln had declared in the affidavit which he drew up, and Dr. Crothers signed in September 1856, that the defendant could not go to trial because their leading witness, Dr. Freese, had left town. Now, in September 1857, they had traced Dr. Freese to Cincinnati and then to Trenton, New Jersey, and obtained his deposition; but again they could not go to trial because Dr. Freese's medical student, Isaac M. Small, had moved to Nashville, Tennessee.[6] More important, the defendants' leading attorney, Abraham Lincoln, was engaged in the famous *Effie Afton* case in the U. S. Circuit Court in Chicago, and "they think his assistance especially necessary for them on the trial of the case."

Judge Davis continued the case at the defendants' cost, and in December 1857, heard "in vacation" the arguments for a change of venue by the defendants' counsel, Brier and Birch. They stated that the inhabitants of McLean County were prejudiced against the doctors; and that Samuel G. Fleming, the plaintiff, "had an undue influence over the minds of the inhabitants of the County of McLean." Swett & Orme, attorneys for the plaintiff, made no objection and Judge Davis ordered the clerk to transfer all the records to the Logan Circuit Court at Lincoln, Illinois, but before court convened on March 15, 1858, counsel for both sides had agreed that the case should be dismissed, with the defendants paying the fee bills which had been issued against them.

HARRY E. PRATT

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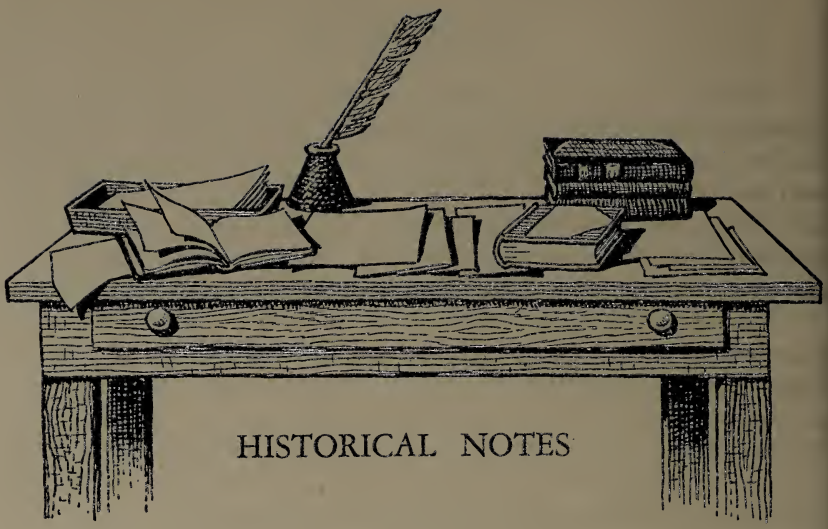
[6] Dr. Jacob R. Freese studied medicine with a doctor for two years, then attended lectures in Philadelphia, 1845-1846. Although engaged in the wholesale mercantile business he took time to attend medical lectures, receiving a diploma in 1851, and later attended lectures in New York and St. Louis. His book, called *Freese's Combined System of Practice for Physicians in Families,* was published in Cincinnati. Practicing in Bloomington, 1852-1856, Freese then moved to Cincinnati and to Trenton, New Jersey, in the spring of 1857, where he became editor of the daily and weekly *State Gazette and Republican.*

President Lincoln appointed him captain and assistant adjutant of Volunteers on Aug. 24, 1861; he resigned Dec. 31, 1863. Lincoln wrote Secretary of War Stanton on Nov. 11, 1863: "I personally wish Jacob Freese of New Jersey, to be appointed colonel for a colored regiment, and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact shade of Julius Caesar's hair." Stanton refused to appoint Freese. Lincoln later asked for two other appointments for him.

On Dec. 23, 1864 Freese wrote congratulating Lincoln on receiving the degree of doctor of laws conferred by the College of New Jersey (Princeton University):

"You have 'doctored' so many old laws to make them better, and have had passed so many good ones that it was only a proper appreciation of your labors to have made you an L./D.

"The best wish I can make is that the future will equal the past, and that you may continue to give leaden *pills* to the Rebels and political *ipecac* to their sympathizers of the North until our land shall have been completely purged of *treason.* . . ."



HISTORICAL NOTES

COLES COUNTY IN THE 1840'S

Dr. Hiram Rutherford, a pioneer physician, came to Coles County, Illinois, in December, 1840 and lived at Oakland until his death in 1900. He was a leader in civic affairs, held numerous local public offices, was an early opponent of slavery, and knew Abraham Lincoln during his circuit-riding days. In the spring of 1843 Dr. Rutherford married Lucinda Bowman of Pennsylvania, who died in the fall of 1845. The doctor later remarried.

Between 1841 and 1845 Dr. Rutherford wrote a number of letters to John J. Bowman, of Elizabethville, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, brother of Lucinda. After his wife came to Coles County she wrote several letters to her mother, Mrs. Frances Bowman, in Millersburg, Pennsylvania. This correspondence has been made available to Dr. Charles H. Coleman, of Eastern Illinois State College, by two of the grandchildren of Dr. Rutherford, Hiram John Rutherford and Mrs. Elizabeth Rutherford Zimmerman, both of Oakland.

Dr. Coleman supplied the following biographical information and comment, along with excerpts from the letters:

Dr. Hiram Rutherford was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1815 and was graduated from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, in 1838. He practiced his profession at Millersburg, Pennsylvania, until he moved to Oakland—known as Independence until about 1845. College-trained physicians were not numerous in the 1840's, especially in the western country, and Coles County was fortunate in having one of Dr. Rutherford's background as early as 1841.

In the course of his opposition to slavery Dr. Rutherford became the protector of the Bryant family of Negroes in the celebrated "Matson slave case" in Charleston, the county seat, in 1847. Dr. Rutherford was acquainted with Abraham Lincoln and sought his legal assistance in this case. However, Lincoln was unable to accept the assignment because he was professionally obligated to Usher F. Linder, attorney for Matson, the slaves' owner. The case went against Matson and Linder, and the Bryants were freed.

For about two years, 1841-1843, Dr. Rutherford had been Matson's physician. The Doctor's original Coles County account book, with the first entries dated December 26, 1840, is in the possession of Mrs. Zimmerman, who permitted me to examine it. One of the accounts is that of "Gen. Robert Matson."

The letters of Dr. Rutherford and his wife are those of two well educated people who expressed themselves clearly and effectively in their correspondence. Problems of medical practice, farming, general economic conditions, and the appearance of the region are described. Extracts from these letters omit matters solely of family interest, and in two instances a paragraph has been transposed to preserve the continuity.

Dr. Rutherford's first letter to Bowman, his future brother-in-law, is dated "Independence, Ill. March 10th 41." Since Bowman was a merchant, the Doctor mentions local business conditions and practices:

> Merchandise rates at about double the price it is with you. Groceries at about one-third higher. Much is done on the credit system but people settle every Christmas and give notes or mortgages or money if they have it. Merchandise of the coarsest kind sells best, groceries can be sold always for cash. There are no stores in this place at present. . . .
>
> Money is perhaps scarcer here than with you, it brings 12 percent interest. . . . The price of produce here rates as follows Wheat 50 cents, corn 21, oats 20, pork 3 cents per pound. There are a great number of deer here as well as all other sorts of game. A venison saddle of the best kind can be had for 75 cents.

The Doctor then describes farming conditions in the region:

> Every season fresh settlers come pouring in and next summer large numbers are coming on. The soil is as rich as any you ever saw and produces by the most careless farming abundant crops. This country is situated about 40 miles west of the Wabash river which is our great outlet for produce. A thrifty farmer can make more money here by stock, produce etc. than he can in the State of Ohio. The price of a first rate farm is about 8 dol. per acre. Still many good ones can be obtained at Congress price [$1.25 per acre] if a man would chose to settle a ½ mile out in the prairie. Prairie land is best, it produces better than timber and resists the draught better than any other kind of soil. Good prairie land can be cropped in corn 10 or 15 years without impairing its fertility; the soil at an average is 18 inches deep.

In his second letter, dated July 14, 1841, Dr. Rutherford suggests that Bowman come to Coles County and open a store. There was no store in the vicinity of Oakland (or Independence):

A store is badly wanted, people have to go 25 miles and then not get what they wanted perhaps. The man who has just quit has done so to collect. He had made in 3 or 4 years from nothing several thousand dollars. This is a great grazing country and has many rich land holders. The pork trade is still pretty good. It is the custom to settle all accounts at Christmas. Debts are more easily collected by law than in P[ennsylvania]. The law is much better.

Then he refers to health conditions:

As to the health of the country I consider it good, diseases yield much easier to medicine than in the East. In the months of July and August [illnesses] are common but it is a mere trifle. A little calomel, salt petre, and opium is sufficient, not one in 200 die of it. Those who have it contract it by carelessness—open houses and wild fruit.

In the next letter, dated October 28, 1841, the Doctor goes into detail concerning his medical practice:

The practice of medicine is not what it is in Millersburg. . . . The doctor is the greatest man in the country, and though however ample the means of the merchant, the farmer or grazier, it is their interest to acquire the good will of the physician. This state of affairs is pleasant and though no feeling of dogmatism is in me yet it is pleasant to do good & see a community grateful for the benefits. . . . I have been taken by the hand here and have now the professional business of nearly the whole country. . . . I am enabled to pursue a much better and bolder practice here than in M. The people here call in time and take medicine as it is prescribed. There is no clique of old Dutch women over the patient, laying the medicine aside and *brouching* instead. Illness here attacks those mostly who live on coarse food and in open houses: those who live comfortable are seldom sick. I believe that in 20 or 30 years this will be the most healthy country in the west. . . .

He adds a note on business conditions:

Money is scarce. Crops are good and but little market for them. Many farmers haul their wheat 180 miles to the lakes where it is $1 per bushel.

By the following April the money scarcity had become worse. The country was suffering from hard times. He writes on April 27, 1842:

Times here are hard, money is scarce, & what is to be had is of but little account. A most overpowering pressure sits upon the land. Property is extremely cheap. I myself am able to stand above the storm. . . . The currency is terribly deranged, a man is not safe at present in any kind of bank paper. Specie is no more to be seen, it is amongst things that were.

Buffalo, it seems, were not unknown in eastern Illinois in 1842. Dr. Rutherford reports:

A drove of buffaloes passed through here toward the East lately. These animals are quite a curiosity. They resemble our cattle of the Durham breed more than any other tame animals. The foreparts are much higher than the hind and heavier. They run with great swiftness—make a grunting noise & have a beard like goats. With drove (33 in number) was a female elk. It is two or three times the size of a deer & in the wild state must possess great swiftness.

A letter dated July 31, 1842, says economic conditions are still bad:

Times are bad enough. The whole west is now groaning under the cut throat policy of Capt. Tyler [President John Tyler]. Wheat will not bring 25 cents a bushel at our best market—corn will be worth about 10 or 12 cents.

On October 21, 1843, the doctor writes to his new brother-in-law. The preceding May, Dr. Rutherford brought his bride Lucinda to her Coles County home. The recently married young physician now views the world more optimistically:

Vegetation has been abundant. I never saw the prairies present so gorgeous an appearance as they have the past summer. They are now on fire, & the sky in all points of the horizon is illumin'd by the glare of their fires. Wheat failed this year, corn and oats were good. Our nearest market is Layfeette [Lafayette], Indiana, about 80 miles distant. In two years it will be less than 40 from us. Wheat there is worth 66, corn 28. Salt $1.60 per barrel, coffee here is worth 12½ per lb. Sugar 8. Tow linen 10 cents per yard. Dry goods are much cheaper than a few years since and all are sold for cash.

In the meantime Mrs. Rutherford had written to her mother—on June 26, 1843, less than a month after her arrival in Coles County on May 31. The bride is enthusiastic in her description of the prairie country:

I am very well pleased with the country and tolerably with the town we reside in. It is very small, hardly as large as Painterstown, but there is one consolation there is no talebearing, nor scandalizers, a person can live in peace, and you never hear anything but English. I have not heard a word of German since I have been here, although there are some Germans settled around. The society is poor here, but the folks are very clever, quite different from what they are in the East. Several called to see me the day we arrived and welcomed me to Pin Hook a nickname they have given the town.

The prairies here are delightful, they are from 12 to 20 miles wide, and 150 long, instead of the timber surrounding them, they surround the timber. At this season they are most beautiful. The green grass has sprung up and covered the whole bosom of these wastes. With that grass there springs up a multitude of flowers of every hue, form, and scent. It is delightful to

ride over this level land and every step, tramping these gemms of nature underfoot. Their beautiful heads can be seen as far as the eye can reach waving in the summer wind. . . .

The Dr has gone this day to Paris 18 miles from here—the nearest stores to get what things we need yet towards housekeeping. There are a great quantity of strawberries here, the largest and best I ever ate. I go out very frequently and gather them, ride horseback. I preserved some, they are very nice. We have honey every meal the best kind and lots of cheese, venison and everything that is good.

In a letter to her mother six months later, on January 15, 1844, Lucinda writes that she feels the lack of a church of her choice. She has been troubled with the chills and fevers common to the region:

As yet all the objection I have to the West is that it is not as healthy as the East. I had a spell of fever last August, was confined to bed 5 or six days. I have had several shakes of ague. . . . We live in about the best house in town, though it is only one story high, 3 rooms and a kitchen. The largest room is larger than either of your two front rooms. We have our stove in it and it makes the room quite comfortable. . . .

I feel quite lost here on account of having meetings so seldom. There is preaching here once a month. I believe they dont have any prayer-meetings at all at least I have not heard of any. The principal church is the Cumberland Presbyterian. I attended a Methodist campmeeting last August the smallest campmeeting I was ever at, there was about 12 tents, it lasted only 4 days, very poor preaching. I staid on the camp ground one night. I took cold there, was the cause of my having the fever. . . .

She adds a note about women's work in the West:

Women in this country don't work as hard as they do in the East. The most of the men here milk the cows. I milk our cows myself, for I despise to see a man sitting under a cow milking. I think it is a woman's work.

On June 1, 1844, the Doctor tells his brother-in-law of participating in the debating activity at Oakland:

Our society is tolerably good. Some young men formed a debating club and amongst the questions was one "Does the Scriptures teach a future endless punishment." A day was set apart and the discussion commenced at 2 o'clock & it lasted until 12 at night. There was 4 Orthodox to 4 Universalists. We had the fortune to beat them out and one of the Judges who was previously strong in the universalist belief renounced the doctrine on the spot.

Six months before her death Mrs. Rutherford again expressed her enthusiasm for Coles County. The letter is dated March 3, 1845:

This is a splendid country to live in, we have our hazel thickets where the nuts grow by the thousands, and acres of plum trees, which will soon be in full bloom. We want for nothing but the friends we left behind.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Laws of Illinois Territory, 1809-1818. Edited with introduction by Francis S. Philbrick. (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* Vol. XXV, Springfield, 1950. Pp. ccclxxvii, 386. $2.50.)

This edition of *The Laws of Illinois Territory, 1809-1818* provides a much needed addition to our available source material on the history of the Northwest Territory, and is a companion volume to *Laws of Indiana Territory* (vol. 21 of the *Collections*) and *Pope's Digest, 1815* (vols. 28 and 30 of the *Collections*), all of them edited by Professor Philbrick.

The detail with which Professor Philbrick has studied his material can be shown by an examination of the sections into which he has divided his introduction of 477 pages—more than half of the book. Section I, on the "Territorial Statutes, 1809-1818," takes up the laws of the first and second stages of the government, the early trends from a *nisi prius* to an appellate system, the early creation of courts outside the common law system, the reasons for disregarding limitations set by the Ordinance, and the transformation of the Illinois judicial system between 1812 and 1814. The second section, on the legal basis of the territorial system, is concerned with the power of the central government to acquire territory, to establish governments, and the admission and subsequent equality of states.

Section III deals with the Ordinance of 1787. Here he discusses such matters as its nature, whether a statute or a constitution; its relationship to the U.S. Constitution, its compact nature, the alterability of compacts under the Confederation and Constitution, the antislavery article, particularly in the "misreadings of treaties of 1763 and 1783," the "misinterpretation of Virginia's conveyance," and the "misinterpretation of the Ordinance." The governmental plan of 1787 and its relation to Jefferson's ordinance of 1784 is discussed in more than one hundred pages in Section IV.

The fifth and final section is a review of the administrative problems in the early territories under the Ordinance, problems of legislation which arose from imperfections in the Ordinance, the governor's powers of veto, and the concentration of governmental powers.

In the fourth section, Professor Philbrick states as one of the purposes of his extremely minute treatment of the Ordinance and its relation to Jefferson's plan:

> Historians, so far as the writer has been able to discover have not given adequate attention (a) to the relation of Jefferson's plan to Revolutionary principles and backwoods practices in state-making; nor on the other hand (b) to the essentially reactionary character of the Ordinance of 1787 if tested by those principles and practices (though here there are some exceptions); nor (c) to the fact, that, so far as regarded territorial government, Jefferson's ordinance was repealed in order to substitute for it a plan of literally antithetic character, as undemocratic and centralized as it was feasible to secure, although not so extreme as its framers desired; nor (d) to the reasons that motivated the abandonment of one plan and the adoption of the other; nor (e) to the differences of opinion in committee (for it was not merely the debility and procrastination of Congress) which delayed the preparation of the Ordinance in its final form; nor, finally, (f) to the question whether the reasons that motivated the abandonment of Jefferson's plan were reasonable—and the reactionary character of the government established in 1787 therefore justifiable—under the circumstances of the day. However unsatisfactorily these questions may be dealt with in the discussion that follows, they will not be ignored.

One is moved to comment that these problems are indeed not ignored. They are treated in great detail both in the body of the text and in voluminous footnotes.

University of Illinois NATALIA M. BELTING

Lincoln in Marble and Bronze. By F. Lauriston Bullard. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, 1952. Pp. 353. $7.50.)

He Belongs to the Ages. The Statues of Abraham Lincoln. By Donald Charles Durman. (Edwards Brothers: Ann Arbor, 1951. Pp. 279. $6.00.)

These are the first two books treating exclusively of the statues of Abraham Lincoln. Dr. Bullard describes and pictures sixty-seven original full-figure statues and twenty replicas. Of these seventy-five are in bronze and five are of marble. In addition to these Dr. Durman includes twenty-eight busts, the Mills and Volk life masks, and the Volk casts of Lincoln's hands. He also describes the Mt. Rushmore National Monument at Rapid City, South Dakota, the five sculptured panels of the Nancy Hanks Lincoln

Memorial near Gentryville, Indiana, and Thelda's totem pole figure of Lincoln now in the lobby of the Centennial Building in Springfield.

Illinois leads all the states in the number of Lincoln statues—seventeen:

Location	*Statue*	*Sculptor*	*Date*
Bunker Hill	Lincoln of Second Inaugural	William G. Hastings	1904
Chicago (Oak Woods Cemetery)	Lincoln the Orator	Charles J. Mulligan	1905
Chicago (Lincoln Park)	Lincoln (standing)	Augustus Saint-Gaudens	1887
Chicago (Garfield Park)	The Railsplitter	Charles J. Mulligan	1911
Chicago (Grant Park)	Lincoln (seated)	Augustus Saint-Gaudens	1887
Clinton	Lincoln of the Epigram	A. L. Van den Bergen	1931
Decatur	The Lawyer	Boris Lovet-Lorski	1946
Decatur	Lincoln at Twenty-one	Fred M. Torrey	1948
Dixon	The Soldier	Leonard Crunelle	1930
Dixon (Lincoln School)	Lincoln at Seven	F. L. Schoolcraft	1947
Freeport	The Debater	Leonard Crunelle	1929
Lawrence County (opposite Vincennes, Ind.)	Lincoln Entering Illinois	Nellie V. Walker	1938
Quincy	The Debater	Lorado Taft	1936
Rosamond	Lincoln the Orator	Charles J. Mulligan	1903
Springfield	Lincoln Tomb	Larkin G. Mead	1874
Springfield	Lincoln of the Farewell Address	Andrew O'Connor	1918
Urbana	Lawyer Lincoln	Lorado Taft	1927

Dr. Bullard's interesting narrative of sculptors and statues is a publication of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois. Regretfully it is below the fine standard of books carrying the Association imprint because of the poor quality of the paper and printing, and the mediocre reproductions. The index is inadequate for so important a reference work. Dr. Durman's book has no index, but does have a useful chart. His photographs in many instances were so poor that the reproductions are not clear enough for the reader to decide whether he likes the statue. Durman's illustrations accompany the descriptive text which makes for ready comparison. Bullard's illustrations are grouped in the center of the book.

The long and earnest search for data by the two authors should not be obscured by the poor reproductions. Both books note the interest and

contributions of Robert T. Lincoln, the pennies and nickels contributed by school children, and the many dedicatory addresses of high quality.

Dr. Durman is an orthopaedic surgeon in Saginaw, Michigan. Dr. Bullard, formerly chief editorial writer for the *Boston Herald,* is the author of many articles on Lincoln, and his books include *Tad and His Father; Abraham Lincoln and the Widow Bixby;* and *The Diary of a Public Man.*

H. E. P.

Lincoln and His Generals. By T. Harry Williams. (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1952. Pp. 363. $4.00.)

Readers of Illinois history and biography will find several of the state's historic figures discussed in *Lincoln and His Generals* by Professor Williams of Louisiana State University (author of *Lincoln and the Radicals*). Lincoln is the central figure, with Generals Grant, Pope, McClernand, McClellan and Banks in supporting roles. The latter two were officers of the Illinois Central Railroad prior to the Civil War.

Lincoln is treated as a military leader throughout, and the problems of strategy are worked out again and again as he hopefully chooses one general after another. McDowell gives way to McClellan, and he to Pope, Burnside, Hooker, Meade and Grant. With so many battles lost by the Army of the Potomac and General-in-Chief Halleck turning out to be "a first-rate clerk," it is understandable why Lincoln held on to Grant. He was one general who was not only willing to fight battles, but more important, he won them.

When the experts seemed to have failed him, the President added to his own duties the planning of strategy and directing campaigns, even in the last year of the war when Grant headed the armies. Williams asserts "that Lincoln was a better strategist than any of the generals," and "a great War President, probably the greatest in our history."

The book will have wide circulation as a selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club, and provide enjoyable, informative—although at times provocative—reading. What controversies this book would have aroused at a national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic fifty years ago!

H. E. P.

Kincaid: A Prehistoric Illinois Metropolis. By Fay-Cooper Cole and others. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1951. Pp. 385. $7.50.)

Here is "an attempt . . . to present to the layman and nonspecialist in Mississippi Valley archaeology the prehistoric picture found in Pope and Massac Counties." While this quotation is used by Dr. Cole to apply specifically to the first chapter, it adequately describes the tenor of the whole

book. Not only is this an outline of the prehistory of a specific area of the state (with the broader cultural implications pointed out) but the "layman and nonspecialist" can gain from it an insight into the way an archaeologist works, the material available to him, and the types of inferences that can be made from archaeological materials.

The locale is primarily the portions of Pope and Massac counties that border each other and the Ohio River. The main site, Kincaid, was located astride the county line and adjacent to the river and contained nineteen mounds and an area occupied by a prehistoric Indian village. In the vicinity were several other Indian camp sites that provided data for an account of the area that covers the period approximately from the time of man's first appearance in this part of the state until early in the seventeenth century. Under the supervision of Dr. Cole the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago spent nine seasons excavating to obtain the data upon which the book is based.

The earliest signs of human occupancy of the area came from the Faulkner site. The culture represented there was one of a group of people who made no pottery and secured their living exclusively by hunting, fishing, and collecting wild berries, etc. In detailed comparisons this Faulkner complex is found to be only a regional variant of a culture manifested in shell-mounds in Kentucky and Tennessee, likewise without pottery.

The next people of whom evidence was found in the area had a village site on the farm of Henry Baumer about five miles west of the Kincaid site. This and related sites are easily distinguishable because of the distinctive pottery found there. The pottery consists largely of vase-shaped jars with thick walls and impressions of coarse fabric on the surface. The people who occupied this site were probably growers of corn who lived a semi-sedentary life only relying upon hunting for meat. The Baumer culture had widespread relationships throughout the eastern United States.

The third (in time sequence) cultural group to arrive in this area is known as Lewis and represents a still later pottery making group. Rectangular houses and gritty, thin walled, conical-based pottery were two of the main bits of data linking this group's culture with others of southern Illinois.

The final settlers of the area were the Kincaid people of the widespread Middle Mississippi culture. This site of their village was the main center of study by the group. According to the data obtained from tree rings, the site was first settled previous to 1523 and probably abandoned about 1600. During this time the area was developed from a small settlement into a sizable city state. At times during its history the settlement was temporarily abandoned because of floods and later rebuilt. As it grew

in size a central square plaza was established and a palisade built around the village. The archaeologists in digging a trench through the large temple mound of the site were able to determine that it had been built and used in successive stages over a period of time.

The village debris yielded skillfully-carved statuettes of stone, fragmentary pots, tobacco pipes, bone and stone implements, and many other fragmentary objects that gave indications of the type of life that the inhabitants of Kincaid lived.

The main portion of the book is very readable, well-organized and written in clear, generally non-technical terms that layman and specialist alike will find very usable. The appendices to the book offer detailed information for the specialist in archaeology. These are especially well done and give information on such topics as the sequence of ceramics during the period of occupation. Outstanding is Appendix I, by Robert E. Bell, which deals with the dendrochronology.

Illinois State Museum MELVIN L. FOWLER

Funk of Funk's Grove. By Helen M. Cavanaugh. (Pantagraph Printing Co.: Bloomington, Illinois, 1952. Pp. 208. $3.50.)

When enterprising men took up thousands of acres of the broad and fertile land in central Illinois, agriculture became more than a mere existence. The bountiful crops and fat herds made them Kings of the Prairies. Among these sovereigns was Isaac Funk of Funk's Grove.

Dr. Helen Cavanaugh of Illinois State Normal University has written the first full length biography of this ardent farmer, legislator, and cattle king. She has chosen to portray not only his many-sided career but also the age in which he lived. The result is a vivid picture of an entire chapter in the story of Illinois. At times it is a complicated tale of land deals, cattle drives, railroad grants, depressions, politics, and reform.

The Funk brothers emigrated to Illinois in 1824, where Isaac and Absalom claimed as many prairie acres as they thought could be entered when the land offices opened. It was a difficult period for these early settlers in McLean County. As late as the third or fourth winter, Isaac reportedly split rails at twenty-five cents a hundred to buy corn at one dollar a bushel. By 1840, however, he held 1,300 acres of land. The sale of cattle from his farms brought as much as $64,000 for one lot sold on the Chicago market.

The coming of the railroads to central Illinois aroused the Funks to buy more thousands of acres of land. During the period from 1848 to 1863, they acquired at least 16,000 additional acres. The result was that when the rails finally reached McLean County to carry away its agricultural surplus,

Isaac Funk was indeed a King of the Prairie. His was one of the great fortunes of the old Northwest.

A Whig who was prone to stray from the party fold, Isaac Funk served in the state legislature in 1840-1841. In 1862 and in 1864 he was elected to the State Senate. His political career was climaxed by his fiery speech in the Senate in February, 1863, which brought him fame throughout the North. His denunciation of the Copperheads was quoted and lauded in the large city newspapers. By 1864, he had reached the height of his fame and fortune. Late in January, 1865, Isaac Funk died, and thus ended the career of a most remarkable man and spokesman for the prairie interests of central Illinois.

These Kings of the Prairies led the drive which transformed our state into the great agricultural center it is today, and it is well that Dr. Cavanaugh has brought to the fore Isaac Funk who played no small role in this revolution.

Illinois State Historical Library ROGER H. VAN BOLT

We're Loyal to You, Illinois. By Cary Clive Burford. (Interstate Printers: Danville, 1952. Pp. 741. $4.00.)

This is the story of the University of Illinois Bands and Albert Austin Harding, director from 1904 to 1948. Biographical material on Harding is woven through the book along with Harding's work with the University Orchestra and the American Band Masters Association. Rosters of the bands are included, and many pictures of the individual players and of the Concert and First and Second Regimental Bands make it an attractive book.

Harding's fine work won for his band from John Philip Sousa, "The March King," the title of the Greatest College Band. Chapters are included on the Sousa band library and the Carl Busch collection of unusual and historical musical instruments. H. E. P.

NEWS AND COMMENT

SIX ILLINOIS GOVERNORS IN ONE PHOTOGRAPH

The unusual photograph on the front cover of this *Journal* include six governors and two lieutenant governors of Illinois, all Republicans. The governed the state from 1865 to 1901, with the exception of the administra tions of Republican John M. Palmer (1869-1873) and Democrat John P Altgeld (1893-1897).

The photograph was made during a state tour on behalf of John R Tanner's campaign for governor in 1896. Seated, left to right are: Governor John L. Beveridge (1873-1877), Richard J. Oglesby (1865-1869, 187 1885-1889), Shelby M. Cullom (1877-1883), and John M. Hamilto (1883-1885). Standing are: Lieutenant Governor John C. Smith (1885 1889); Governor John R. Tanner (1897-1901); James R. Van Cleave chairman of the Republican state central committee, who arranged the tour Governor Joseph W. Fifer (1889-1893); and Lieutenant Governor Lyma B. Ray (1889-1893).

SPRING TOUR OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Two important historical events and a woman who made history sup plied the principal themes for the annual Spring Tour of the Illinois Stat Historical Society which was held in Freeport on May 23 and 24.

The woman was Jane Addams whose home was at Cedarville, just nort of Freeport. Dr. Mildred F. Berry, professor of speech and American literature at Rockford College, spoke on "Jane Addams: Early Life and Career" at the Friday luncheon meeting at the Hotel Freeport. A visit to he birthplace and grave at Cedarville was part of the Saturday tour.

The Friday luncheon was followed by a tour of the W. T. Rawleigh Company plant and museum and a tea at the Henney Farms three miles eas

of Freeport where Mrs. Mary Henney Smithe and Mrs. Ina H. White were hostesses.

The historical events were the Lincoln-Douglas Debates and the Black Hawk War. Dr. Charles H. Coleman of Eastern Illinois State College gave an address on the "Personalities of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates" before the 175 members and their friends attending the annual spring dinner at the Masonic Temple ballroom on Friday evening. The Saturday tour also included the site where the Freeport Debate was held and a visit to the museum of the Stephenson County Historical Society.

At noon Saturday the group motored twenty miles west of Freeport to the Kellogg's Grove Battlefield monument, near Kent. Luncheon was served by the Ladies Aid of St. John's Lutheran Church of Pearl City in their parish hall. Holman Hamilton of Lexington, Kentucky, author of a two-volume biography of Zachary Taylor, spoke on "Zachary Taylor and the Black Hawk War."

This luncheon closed the well planned program arranged by Mrs. William W. Zeiders, president of the Stephenson County Historical Society, and Philip L. Keister, a director of the State Society, who was chairman of local arrangements.

BARRETT LINCOLN FUND PRESENTATION

Formal presentation of the Lincoln manuscripts purchased by the Barrett Lincoln Collection Fund Committee for $76,076 at the auction of the Oliver R. Barrett collection was made at the Illinois State Historical Library on the evening of May 21. Governor Adlai E. Stevenson received the papers in the name of the people of Illinois, and the presentation was made by Newton C. Farr of Chicago and David Owen of Peoria, co-chairmen of the committee.

Dr. Clarence P. McClelland of Jacksonville, president of the Illinois State Historical Society and of the board of trustees of the Historical Library, was chairman of the meeting. He read a letter from Foreman M. Lebold of Chicago stating that he was depositing in the Library Lincoln's letter of November 4, 1851 to his stepbrother John D. Johnston. The last part of this letter is addressed to Lincoln's stepmother, and is his only known note to her.

Short talks were made by Lebold and by Justin Turner of Los Angeles, president of the National Society of Autograph Collectors. Among those introduced were the other two trustees of the Library, Alfred W. Stern of Chicago and Benjamin P. Thomas of Springfield, and Ralph G. Newman of Chicago, who did the bidding for the Lincoln Collection Fund at the Barrett

sale. Farr told briefly the story of the Illinois Central railroad car exhibit of Barrett material which toured the state in 1951. He introduced Margaret A. Flint, reference librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library, who arranged the exhibit, and Ralph Gregory, who had charge of the car on its tour. (For a more complete listing of the Barrett Fund purchases, see the Spring, 1952 issue of this *Journal*, pages 70-72.)

SECOND SEASON OF "FOREVER THIS LAND"

The outdoor drama, "Forever This Land," which tells the story of six significant years in the life of Abraham Lincoln, will open its second season in the Kelso Hollow theater at New Salem State Park on Saturday, June 28. Nine consecutive nightly performances will be presented through July 6, beginning at 8:10 P.M., Central Standard Time; and from July 8 through August 24 performances will be every night except Mondays.

Author Kermit Hunter has made several important changes in the script, the staging will be improved, and there will be a number of new faces in the cast. The director will again be William MacIlwinen, and the adviser, Samuel Selden. Harlington Wood, Jr., of Springfield, will return to play the role of Lincoln.

Reserved seat tickets ($2.40 each) may be obtained by writing: Forever This Land, Petersburg, Illinois. General admission tickets ($1.80 and $1.00 for adults, and 60 and 50 cents for children) will be sold only at the Kelso Hollow theater box office, on the day on which they are to be used.

JOHN H. HAUBERG HONORED

John H. Hauberg (see page 137) was guest of honor at a surprise dinner given by the Rock Island Historical Society on May 28 at the Short Hills Country Club, East Moline. "Hauberg Night," which was also the forty-second annual meeting of the Society, was attended by 130 members and guests. Among the many tributes paid to Mr. Hauberg was the presentation of a scroll from the Illinois State Historical Society, signed by the officers and directors, expressing appreciation for his many years of devoted service. Mr. Hauberg was president of the Society in 1941 and a director or vice-president from 1917 to 1951.

THIRD ANNUAL JUNIOR HISTORIAN AWARDS

Governor Adlai E. Stevenson presented testimonial awards to forty Illinois Junior Historians of the Year in brief ceremonies held in the auditorium of the Centennial Building in Springfield on Wednesday afternoon,

May 21. This was the third time the awards have been given and marked the close of the fifth year of the Illinois Junior Historian program.

Roger H. Van Bolt, director of the program sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society, reports that nearly four thousand pupils of junior high school age in sixty-nine schools were on the subscription list. They submitted nearly one thousand articles, drawings and photographs; 148 of these were published in the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine.

Preceding the award ceremony, Milton D. Thompson, assistant director of the Illinois State Museum, gave an illustrated talk on the pre-history of Illinois. Dr. Harry E. Pratt, State Historian, spoke briefly. Of the forty award winners only Nancy McMillen of Central School, Lincoln, had been a 1951 winner. The pupils represented twenty-two schools located in seventeen communities:

Alton—David Fabianic, Carol Johnson, Kenny Schoeck, and Dan Sokolowski, East Junior High School; Carol Draper and Patricia Ray, West Junior High School.

Chicago—Charles T. Angell, Richard Klein, Richard H. Kohn, Richard A. Nongard, and Roger L. Severns, Jr., Harvard School for Boys.

Decatur—Sharolyn Rudisill, Johns Hill Junior High School; and Nancy Scott, Lakeview High School.

Dixon—Nancy Rohr and Robert Swim, North Central School.

Edwardsville—Webb Lewis, Edwardsville Community School.

Freeport—Stephen Babcock, Judy Bloyer, and Dick Reynolds, Freeport Junior High School.

Jacksonville—Donna Cosner and Beverly Skinner, David Prince Junior High School.

Kankakee—Sue Stockstill, West Junior High School.

Lincoln—Nancy McMillen, Central School.

Mattoon—Edward Berkowitz, Hawthorne Junior High School.

Moline—Ronald Chambers, Mike Lain, and Daniel Woods, Calvin Coolidge Junior High School; Kenneth Englund and Doreen Spackman, John Deere Junior High School.

Newton—Marilyn Helregel, Community Consolidated High School.

Normal—Linda Kay Lusher, Central School.

Oakford—Larry Lynn, Oakford Elementary School.

Petersburg—Judith Peterson, Petersburg Junior High School.

Rock Island—Elizabeth McKnight, Central Junior High School; Joyce Birkhahn, Dick Hartung, and Ann Seward, Franklin Junior High School; Suzanne Althoff and Sally Welch, Washington Junior High School.

South Jacksonville—Wanda Tipps, Community Consolidated School.

ARBOR DAY CELEBRATION AT MORTON ARBORETUM

More than 400 members of three historical societies joined in a celebration of Arbor Day at the Morton Arboretum near Lisle on Saturday, May 17. The purpose of the celebration is well expressed by the wording on the bronze plaque which was dedicated: "In honor of/ J. Sterling Morton/ Founder of Arbor Day, 1872/Joy Morton/Founder of the Morton Arboretum, 1921/ Jean Morton Cudahy and Sterling Morton/ Trustees and Perpetuators of the Arboretum/ this tablet was placed and three trees were planted/ at Commemorative Arbor Day Ceremonies, May 17, 1952/ The Du Page County Historical Society/ The Chicago Historical Society/ The Illinois State Historical Society."

The speakers included Governor Adlai E. Stevenson whose grandfather, Adlai E. Stevenson, was Vice-President during President Grover Cleveland's second administration when J. Sterling Morton was Secretary of Agriculture. James C. Olson, superintendent of the Nebraska Historical Society, brought greetings from Governor Val Peterson, since it was in Nebraska that Arbor Day was founded. Mrs. Joseph M. Cudahy and Sterling Morton responded on behalf of the Morton family and the Arboretum. Dr. J. Nelson Spaeth, head of the forestry department of the University of Illinois, spoke on "The Scientific Significance of the Morton Arboretum and Arbor Day."

Preceding the exercises at the Arboretum there was a luncheon at the Old Spinning Wheel near Hinsdale. The program was originated and carried out by H. A. Berens of Elmhurst, president of the Du Page County Historical Society.

LINCOLN DOCUMENTS FROM LOGAN COUNTY

Eleven legal documents written by Abraham Lincoln, and his entries in thirty-four cases in the March 1859 Judges Docket have been transferred to the Illinois State Historical Library by the Board of Supervisors of Logan County.

The entries made by Lincoln while serving as judge of the Logan County Circuit Court in the absence of Judge David Davis, were found recently by James T. Hickey, vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and were transferred on the recommendation of Circuit Judge Frank S. Bevan and County Judge William S. Ellis. All of the legal papers prepared by Lincoln are in cases filed after the courthouse fire in April, 1857. Several cases found by Hickey are new to Lincoln students. *White* v. *Shockey* was a suit to settle the ownership of 225 acres; *Engle and Durfee* v. *Reed* in the answer

of the defendant, written by Lincoln, denies that Reed ever intended to mortgage the lot on which his home stood. In *Reed et al* v. *Lucas and Lucas,* Lincoln's three-page answer of the defendants declares that the deceased John Lucas was of "sound mind and memory" when he made his will. The last seven lines of Lincoln's answer in the divorce suit of *Zadok Mundy* v. *Elizabeth Mundy* is completed by William H. Herndon and signed by him "Lincoln & Herndon."

The Historical Library also received several other legal documents written by Herndon, John A. McClernand, Samuel C. Parks and William D. Wyatt. The firm of Lincoln & Herndon represented one of the parties in each case.

BOY SCOUTS VISIT LINCOLN'S TOMB

Governor Henry F. Schricker of Indiana addressed 2,300 Boy Scouts who made their Seventh Annual Pilgrimage to the Lincoln Tomb on Sunday, April 27. The Governor has received all the honors in scouting, starting as a troop leader forty years ago. He was introduced by Governor Adlai E. Stevenson. The Scouts who made the pilgrimage represented forty-four communities in Illinois and Clinton, Iowa. A booklet entitled "Abe Lincoln the Pioneer" by President Fred L. Schrader of the Chicago & Illinois Midland Railway was presented to each Scout. The pilgrimage was sponsored by the Abraham Lincoln Council of Springfield. Carroll W. Neeld was chairman of the arrangements committee.

LAND OF GOSHEN SOCIETY

Seventeen Edwardsville residents, recognizing the need for making local history accessible and palatable to schools and civic organizations, have recently formed the Land of Goshen Society. Membership is limited to those who will actively participate in gathering reliable information concerning the area that was known as "Goshen" to Madison County pioneers. Members have been divided into work groups, each having a specific field for investigation such as court and cemetery records, newspaper files, maps, and interviews.

Dr. James F. Hopkins of the University of Kentucky department of history is compiling the papers of Henry Clay. He will welcome letters both to and by Clay, and significant items about him.

Herman G. Nelson, president of the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford, is the author of a history of Rockford which was published in

sixteen weekly installments, in the Sunday edition of the *Rockford Morning Star,* January 6 through April 20. Nelson is on the staff of the newspaper.

Ernest E. East (see page 101) is the author of an article on the Icarian settlement at Nauvoo, Illinois, in the February, 1952, *Illinois Libraries* magazine. The brief history of the French colony which was in existence from 1849 to 1858, includes a complete list of the 276 Icarians tabulated by federal census takers in 1850.

A plot of ground twenty-five feet square at Metcalf in Edgar County on which there is a historical marker commemorating one of the pioneer doctors of the county has been deeded to the Illinois State Historical Society and the Village of Metcalf by James Wyatt of Chrisman. The marker is a six-ton boulder with a receptacle containing family pictures and mementoes beneath a bronze plaque on which is the following inscription: "This marker is dedicated to/Dr. Samuel H. Honn/pioneer doctor since 1883/and his wife/ Mary M. Honn/ and daughter/ Rowena Honn Wyatt."

The Illinois State Federation of Stamp Clubs, with member organizations in Kankakee, Decatur, Bloomington, Peoria, Canton, Moline, La Salle, and Springfield, has launched a study of the "Postal History of the State of Illinois." When finished the Federation hopes to have its findings published in book form. Any information on this subject will be appreciated by Roland C. Oertel, 496 South Lincoln Avenue, Kankakee, or Carl E. Rhoads, 714 West Walnut Street, Bloomington, president of the group.

Under the name of the Lincoln and Lee Library a collection of 1,500 Civil War books, pamphlets and articles was opened in a special room of the Winchester, Massachusetts, Public Library on February 12. The collection was a gift of the late Edgar J. Rich who also set up a trust fund of some $33,000, the income from which is to be used to maintain and enlarge the collection.

A special Lincoln conference was held on May 10 at Bradley University in Peoria, stressing Lincoln's association with the Peoria area. M. L. Houser's fine collection of Lincolniana now occupies a special room in the university's new library. Speakers included Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Dr. Louis A. Warren, and Ernest E. East.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Alton Area Historical Society held a Lincoln program in February. Three speakers discussed different phases of Lincoln's attendance at the Ford Theatre the night he was assassinated. Clarence Sargent described the play which Lincoln saw that night; Mrs. Horace I. Ash reviewed *The Spur* by Ardyth Kennelly, relating to the flight of John Wilkes Booth; and Margaret Hall read an article entitled, "Behind the Scenes." In March, the subject of the meeting was "Hobbies and Their Historical Significance." W. H. Wiseman spoke on photography at the April meeting, at which a report was made on the restoration of the Piasa bird painting on the bluff at Alton.

The annual dinner of the Aurora Historical Society was held on May 12 in the Rose Room at the Y. M. C. A. Professor Clarence R. Smith spoke on the Indiana Sand Dunes which he has studied and photographed for twenty years.

On Sunday, May 4, the Chicago Lawn Historical Society held its fourteenth annual reunion at the Chicago Lawn Library. Special exhibits were arranged; there were musical selections furnished by students from the Marquette School; and refreshments were served. Richard O. Helwig is president of the group.

Mrs. John Halversen is the new president of the Ravenswood-Lake View (Chicago) Historical Association. She succeeds Dr. H. K. Scatliff. The seventeenth annual meeting of the association was held in April. Albert L. Stephens' address on "Chicago, the Beautiful," was illustrated with colored slides. The meeting was held at the Hild Regional Library where special exhibits had been arranged.

N. H. Gilbert spoke on "The Story of Sears, Roebuck and Company," at the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society meeting on May 20. On June 8, the group took a bus tour to Black Hawk State Park. They also visited "Hazelwood," home of Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen.

A survivor of the tragic Iroquois Theatre Fire of December 30, 1903, and an undertaker who helped prepare for burial some of the nearly six hundred victims were speakers before the February meeting of the Historical

Society of Woodlawn (Chicago). Mrs. Rose Payson, a teen-age girl at the time, told how she and her party escaped from the top of the third balcony after they saw the first flaming bits of scenery fall from the flies. The undertaker was H. D. Ludlow. He spent three days, almost without sleep or rest, in taking care of the dead.

On May 9, the meeting opened with a memorial service for Michael J. Sullivan, who died in April. The service was conducted by Mrs. E. J. Chladek. Mr. Sullivan was president of the group at the time of his death. Other officers of the Society are: Mrs. Harry E. O'Hern, vice-president; Mrs. Frank Lindsay, recording secretary; Beatrice Carswell, corresponding secretary; Myrtle Moulton, treasurer; and Bernadine McLaughlin, librarian. The speaker at the May 9 meeting was Charles R. Feldstein whose topic was, "Highlights in the History of the University of Chicago."

A special Lincoln program was held by the Edwards County Historical Society in February. A sketch of Lincoln's life was given by Mrs. W. A. Wheeler. Mrs. Wheeler illustrated her talk with many pictures which were displayed around the room. Many other items of Lincolniana were also exhibited. Ben Mayne's memoirs and descriptions of the now "ghost town" of Marion in northwest Edwards County were a feature of the April meeting, while in May Mrs. H. O. McDonough discussed the early history of St. Louis.

Officers of the Edwardsville Chapter of the Madison County Historical Society elected in April are: Mrs. W. H. Morgan, president; Mrs. Ira West, vice-president; Mrs. David Fiegenbaum, treasurer; and Mrs. Julian Vallette, secretary. Directors chosen include: Mrs. Ann Funke, Nina Ferguson, and Julian Vallette.

H. D. Bent was re-elected president of the Evanston Historical Society in February. Other officers include: Mrs. George A. Paddock, vice-president; Mildred Crew, secretary; and George H. Tomlinson, treasurer.

Harriet Curran presented the Society with a ship's mercury barometer and thermometer which had belonged to her father, Captain James Curran. Captain Curran used it for thirty years on the Great Lakes, and the barometer had gone around the world in sailing vessels before coming into his hands.

At its March meeting the Geneva Historical Society had a most interesting program and exhibits. Mary Wheeler read selected paragraphs from

A Guide for Emigrants published in 1831. Mrs. M. A. Allan read a paper on the story of the Disciples Church and the Wilson family. Mrs. Robert Powell, the principal speaker, gave a résumé of the history of the Kane County Home, of which she is manager. Dr. Charles H. Lyttle is president of the Society.

A tour of historical points of interest in Glencoe followed by a tea and business meeting at the home of Mrs. John A. Grant comprised the April 27 meeting of the Glencoe Historical Society.

Officers of the Greene County Historical Society elected in February are: Mrs. Lansing Dickson, president; Robert Black, first vice-president; Clem Smith, treasurer; and Mrs. Henry Borlin, secretary. A vice-president and secretary representing each township will be chosen.

At the meeting on April 19, a constitution was presented and ratified. The Society's museum room is in the Carrollton Public Library.

Grundy County Historical Society officers are: Harry Hough, president; Thomas Dunn, vice-president; Mrs. Mae Carter, secretary; Mrs. Helen Ullrich, press and publicity.

A paper on Zadoc Casey was read by N. W. Draper at the March meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society held at Mt. Vernon. Casey was one of Jefferson County's prominent pioneers.

At the annual meeting of the Kankakee County Historical Society a new scale model of the steamer *Margarit* was displayed by Dr. John F. Peck. The model was built by Harold E. Lee. Dr. Peck was a pilot of the excursion steamer which plied the Kankakee River. Joseph Farman was the engineer. Dr. Peck gave reminiscences of boating days on the river at the turn of the century.

Officers of the Society are: Ralph Francis, president; Len Small, vice-president; Herman Snow, vice-president; Gilbert Hertz, treasurer; and Mrs. Fannie Still, secretary-curator.

James R. Getz told stories of an early Lake County farmer's life at the February meeting of the Lake County Historical Society. The incidents were taken from the 1868-1893 diaries of Apollis Ames who lived in Newport township.

The Lincoln Public Library has a D. F. Nickols Memorial Bookshelf. Mr. Nickols, who was for many years one of the library's trustees, was also, at the time of his death, president of the Logan County Historical Society and a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The Postville Courthouse Restoration Committee has approved the reconstruction of a replica of the building in which Lincoln held court on the site of the original structure.

The McLean County Historical Society has received three scrapbooks and a souvenir program of the county's centennial in 1930. These records tell the colorful story of the four-day celebration.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt spoke at the Madison County Historical Society meeting in the Edwardsville Y. M. C. A. on May 11. His topic was "Lincoln, the Circuit Lawyer." Mrs. Rose Sands also discussed "Women Who Influenced Lincoln."

Mabel Wilson spoke to the Macon County Historical Society at its meeting in Decatur on May 9. Her topic was "Decatur and Macon County During the Early Northwest Territory Period."

In March Mrs. W. A. Shafer spoke to the Mattoon Historical Society on "The History of National Music." A film about the Illinois Central Railroad was also shown. Dr. Charles H. Coleman addressed the group in May on "Lincoln and Coles County."

Ernest E. East spoke at the April meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society. His topic was "The Clownish Lincoln." At this meeting prizes were awarded to seventh and eighth grade and high school students for the best essays on subjects of local historical interest. First prize in the high school group went to Esther Pond. Janet Pires and Marietta Johnson tied for second place. Wanda Tipps and William S. Blakeman won first and second prizes in the grade school division.

The Oak Park Historical Society saw "The Golden Journey" at its February meeting. The film was furnished by the Ideal Pictures Corporation in conjunction with the Rock Island Railroad. It shows the points of interest and the scenic beauties of the West.

Recent speakers at the Peoria Historical Society have been: Evabeth Miller whose illustrated talk was "Trends in Peoria Culture," and Louise Lines who spoke on "Sixty Years of Kindergartens in Peoria."

Dr. Roger H. Van Bolt spoke at the March meeting of the Piatt County Historical Society held in Monticello. Tape recordings of local history in the words of persons "who were there" is being considered by the group. Calvin W. Adams is executive secretary of the Society and Frank Wrench president.

Officers of the Saline County Historical Society include: William H. Farley, president; Edward Heister, first vice-president; Mrs. Mary Lindsay, second vice-president; and James Bond, secretary-treasurer. Directors elected in February are: John F. Foster, R. C. Davenport, Fred Wasson, J. Ward Barnes, and Alvina Shestak.

Speakers in recent months: Dr. Roger H. Van Bolt stressed the importance of local history; Ray Durham talked on the life of Robert G. Ingersoll; Mrs. John Van Trease illustrated her talk on "Historical Houses" with colored slides; and Dr. Norman W. Caldwell showed how historical groups can help with the writing of history.

The Southern Illinois Historical Society held its twelfth annual meeting in May. The group met at Anna and re-elected all its officers. They include: Norman W. Caldwell, president; C. C. Kerr, first vice-president; John W. Allen, second vice-president; and Mrs. Ida Choisser, third vice-president. Newly elected members of the board of directors are Charles Jean and W. S. Burkhart. Following dinner in the First Presbyterian Church, Dr. Harry Ammon spoke on "Problems and Suggestions for Historical Societies."

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford held its annual meeting on Sunday, March 16. A varied program followed. Gunnel Persson, centennial student of the Society at Rockford College, told of her observations while in Rockford. Each of the candidates for "midsummer queen" told something about herself, and K. Alex Carlsson recounted his adventures while sailing the Atlantic in a replica of a Viking vessel.

Officers of the Vermilion County Historical Society are: Howard Clark, president; Frank Burroughs, vice-president; Virginia A. Davies, secretary; and Mrs. Helen Biedermann, treasurer.

At the February meeting of the White County Historical Society James Robert Endicott spoke on Abraham Lincoln. Allen Ball is president of the organization, and Mrs. Robert G. Williams, secretary.

Hermon Dunlap Smith spoke to the Winnetka Historical Society in March. His topic was, "The Des Plaines River and Its Background." Mr. Smith, president of the Chicago Historical Society, has studied the history of the river for many years and his talk included descriptions by early travelers. Mrs. John R. Hattstaedt sang a group of early American folksongs.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP LIST INCREASES

Since publication of the Spring *Journal* the Illinois State Historical Society has added five to its life memberships: Henry B. Bass, Enid, Oklahoma; Mr. and Mrs. Ralph E. Francis, Kankakee; Philip L. Keister, Freeport; Mr. and Mrs. Ralph G. Newman, Chicago; and Ezra J. Warner, Douglas, Arizona. During the same period the number was lessened by one death, that of Mark Morton, West Chicago. The life membership fee is $50 (annual dues, $3), and the list now numbers sixty:

Milburn P. Akers.....Wilmette
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Mrs. Fred Ball.....Clinton
Henry B. Bass.....Enid, Okla.
Mrs. Earl J. Bennyhoff.....Dixon
Albert E. Berger.....Chicago
William McCormick Blair.....Chicago
Mrs. William Butterworth.....Moline
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.....San Marino, Calif.
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..... Chicago
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Laura V. Paullin.....Evanston
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Romaine Proctor .....Springfield
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Harold K. Sage.....Normal
Ernst C. Schmidt.....Chicago
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Harriett Grace Scott....Brookline, Mass.
Myrtle I. Starbird.....Evanston
George D. Stoddard.....Urbana
R. O. Vandercook.....Evanston
Ezra N. Warner.....Douglas, Ariz.
David M. Warren.....Panhandle, Tex.
Mrs. Harry Tempie Watts.....
.....Vincennes, Ind.
Roland L. Williams.....Winnetka
George H. Williamson.....Winnetka
M. R. Williamson.....Alton

* Honorary life member.

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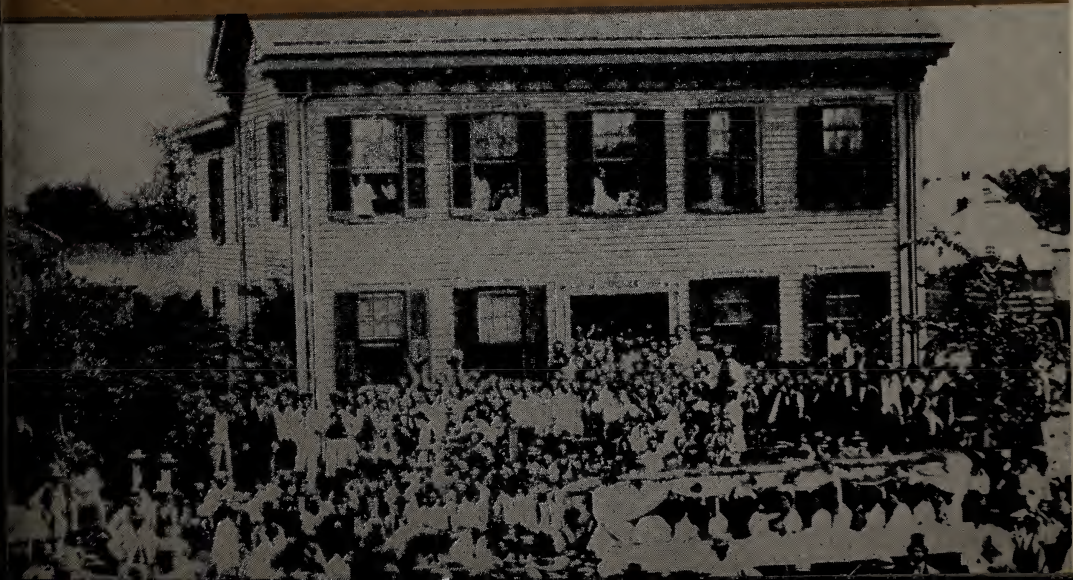
SPRINGFIELD GREETS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES OF 1952 AND 1860



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(For further information see inside of back cover)

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THE JUDD-WENTWORTH FEUD

BY DON E. FEHRENBACHER

THE presidential boom for Abraham Lincoln still lacked coherent organization in December, 1859. Yet his forensic duels with Stephen A. Douglas had already marked him as the Republican leader of a populous and critical state, and in various newspapers scattered throughout Illinois his name had been proposed for a place on the national ticket. Although in the Spring he had declared himself not fit for the presidency,[1] by the end of the year he had unobtrusively edged his hat into the ring.

Prerequisite to any successful campaigning farther afield was the firm and united support of his party in Illinois. However, precisely at this time when harmony was vital, Lincoln was confronted with a quarrel among certain Illinois Republicans which threatened to sink the party's chances in the state and his own aspirations for 1860. In the middle of December he received a letter urging that he take steps to stop "the War of the Roses at Chicago."[2] The writer was referring to

[1] Lincoln to Thomas J. Pickett, April 16, 1859. (MSS, Illinois State Historical Library.)

[2] Nathaniel Niles to Lincoln, Dec. 16, 1859. (Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as RTL Coll.)

Don E. Fehrenbacher is assistant professor of history at Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. A native of Sterling, Illinois, and a graduate of Cornell College, Iowa, he received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago. His Master's thesis was a study of John Wentworth's newspaper and was titled "The Chicago Democrat *and the Sectional Crisis, 1854-1861."*

a libel suit which involved two of the state's leading Republicans, Norman B. Judd and "Long John" Wentworth.

Lawyer, railroad promoter, and politician, Judd had been a member of the Illinois Senate since 1844, while Wentworth, in ten years as congressman and almost a quarter of a century as editor of the *Chicago Democrat,* had become the closest thing to a political boss that Chicago had yet known. The two men were almost exactly the same age and had descended upon Chicago from the northeastern part of the country in the same year, 1836. Both had quickly become leaders of the Jacksonian Democracy in the unkempt little lake town. Both were ardent sponsors of railroad development and internal improvements. Both were stanchly opposed to the further extension of slavery.

Yet in spite of their similar backgrounds and viewpoints, there developed an enmity between the two men which was compounded, apparently, of political rivalry and personal dislike.[3] Then, when the Kansas-Nebraska issue caused both men to forswear their old Democratic allegiance, they took their mutual antipathy with them into the Republican Party. There Judd's abilities were soon recognized when he was appointed chairman of the State Central Committee. Wentworth, a somewhat unwelcome convert, won the party nomination for mayor of Chicago in 1857 over the intense opposition of many leading Republicans in the city, including Judd.

Although they had helped elect him as a lesser evil than the Democratic nominee, Wentworth had no sooner taken office than the Republican faction opposed to him began its sniping, particularly through the columns of the *Chicago Tribune,* with whose editors Judd was in close rapport.

Even during these less sensational years of the feud,

[3] Judd's friend and former law partner, J. Young Scammon, had run against Wentworth for Congress in 1848. Another of Judd's close friends, Ebenezer Peck, was a bitter enemy of Wentworth and, according to reports, had once caned him and chased him through the streets of Belvidere, Illinois. *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 28, 1853; *Chicago Press and Tribune,* April 2, 1859.

downstate Republicans worried about its possible impact upon party fortunes. The *Bloomington Pantagraph* described itself as "astonished and pained" to see Republican papers assaulting the first Republican mayor of Chicago. It added: "We are sorry that business rivalry, and perhaps conflicting political pretensions should so blind their eyes that they cannot see the suicidal consequences of the policy they have pursued."[4] Lincoln himself, hoping to replace Douglas in the United States Senate, expressed deep concern over the Chicago Republicans' growing schism. To his friend Henry Clay Whitney he wrote:

> Let me say to you confidentially, that I do not entirely appreciate what the republican papers of Chicago are so constantly saying against Long John. I consider those papers truly devoted to the republican cause, and not unfriendly to me; but I *do* think that more of what they say against "Long John" is dictated by personal malice than themselves are conscious of. We can not afford to lose the services of "Long John" and I do believe the unrelenting warfare made upon him, is injuring our cause.[5]

Nevertheless, the opposition was so strong that Wentworth found it inexpedient to run for re-election in 1858. He returned to private life and to his newspaper, nursing his wounds and awaiting an opportunity for revenge.

In the meantime, Lincoln's stirring, although unsuccessful, senatorial campaign had entrenched him firmly as the foremost figure among Illinois Republicans, and since the vote of Illinois in 1860 might very well be decisive in the choice of the next president, the party leader in the state became automatically a man of considerable national significance, which the glamour of the debates with Douglas only enhanced. Wentworth, who had lost control of the Chicago government, and who had seen Judd ensconced in the chair of the State Central Committee, now perceived that the way to ruin his enemy, and at the same time recover some of his own lost

[4] *Bloomington Pantagraph*, June 12, 1857.
[5] Lincoln to Whitney, Dec. 18, 1857. (Photostat in Illinois State Historical Library.)

power and prestige, was to bring about a split between Lincoln and Judd. To that task he set himself in 1859 with such energy that the foundations of the party in the state were shaken, and the repercussions of the quarrel that ensued were felt for several years afterward.

The onslaught against Judd in the pages of the *Chicago Democrat* was a two-pronged affair. First, he was accused of financial corruption. His name was linked with that of Joel A. Matteson, Democratic governor from 1853 to 1857, who had been revealed as a defrauder of the state. He was also charged with favoring lax financial policies as a state senator and with wishing to be governor so that he might continue his "schemes for speculating out of the public treasury."[6] Secondly, Judd was said to have betrayed Lincoln by supporting Trumbull for the Senate in 1855, and by using his position on the Central Committee to build up Trumbull instead of Lincoln in the years that followed.[7] Lincoln's defeat in 1858 was also blamed upon Judd's mismanagement and dishonesty, and now, said the *Democrat,* he was plotting to "cheat Lincoln for the third time" by working to get Trumbull nominated for the presidency. "It is a monomania with him," the paper added.[8]

Wentworth's charges might not have carried much weight alone, but they were quickly picked up and repeated by other Republican leaders who disliked Judd, including Charles Wilson of the *Chicago Journal,* and Lincoln's own law partner, William Herndon.[9] Judd had publicly denied the accusations earlier in the year in a bitter debate with Wentworth at Metropolitan Hall, but they had continued to circu-

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[6] *Weekly Chicago Democrat,* March 26, Oct. 8, Nov. 26, 1859; *Daily Democrat,* Sept. 6, 1859.

[7] *Weekly Democrat,* Nov. 12, Dec. 10, 1859.

[8] *Ibid,* Nov. 12, 26, 1859.

[9] Herndon was later admonished by Lincoln to stop speaking of Judd in terms similar to those used by Wentworth. Judd to Lincoln, Jan. 31, 1860, RTL Coll.; Lincoln to Judd, Feb. 5, 1860, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1905), V: 290. Cited hereafter as *Works.*

late.[10] Furious, not only at those Republicans who were attacking him, but also at those who had remained silent instead of coming to his defense, Judd, on December 1, 1859, lashed back at his chief tormentor by instituting a suit for libel against Wentworth. On the same day, in an angry letter, he demanded that Lincoln deny Long John's allegations, and added:

> I am berated in the newspapers, slandered in private conversation and the uninitiated made to believe that I cheated you when Trumbull was first elected[,] defeated you when you ran last year, and am now conspiring to advance Trumbull on the Presidential ticket at your expense—and all this without any public defense by you or any of your friends.... I ask no sympathy but I demand justice from those who know that I am wronged.

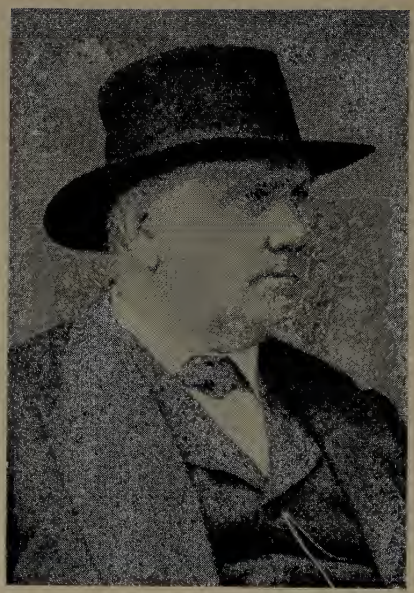
Wentworth, he said, must either be silenced or driven out of the party, while Wilson and other Republicans who were aiding him must be "kicked into the kennell with the rest of the curs."[11]

To Lyman Trumbull on the same day Judd wrote:

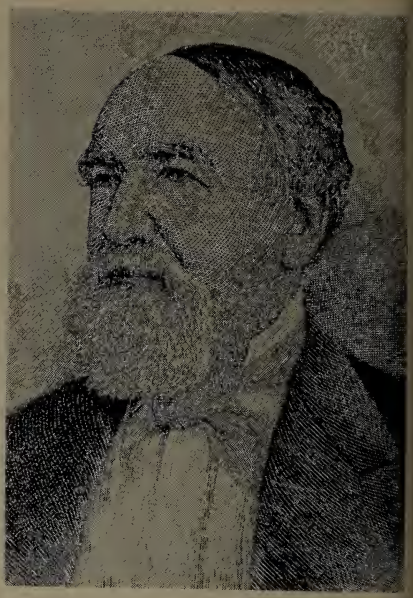
> I have to day instituted a libel suit against Wentworth and intend to follow him daily until I mend his manners. . . . These things have gone on too long already and it is time it was stopped.... I have slaved for L. as you know and that I should today be suffering amongst *his* friends by the charge of having cheated him, and he silent is an outrage that I am not disposed to submit to.[12]

Lincoln was in Kansas when this political storm broke. He arrived home on December 8, to find Judd's importunate letter waiting for him. While he hastened to respond that he took no stock in the charges of disloyalty,[13] he was reluctant to make a public statement in Judd's behalf because he feared that it would be looked upon as an endorsement of the latter's gubernatorial aspirations. He had no desire to give that impression since two other friends, Leonard Swett and Richard Yates, were leading candidates for the same office. Never-

[10] *Chicago Times*, April 5, 1859.
[11] Judd to Lincoln, Dec. 1, 1859, RTL Coll.
[12] Judd to Trumbull, Dec. 1, 1859. (MSS, Lyman Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress.)
[13] Lincoln to Judd, Dec. 9, 1859, *Works*, V: 281-82.



"LONG JOHN" WENTWORTH



NORMAN B. JUDD

theless, on December 14, Lincoln did write for publication a letter absolving Judd of the charges of treachery, taking care to add, "I have been and still am very anxious to take no part between the many friends, all good and true, who are mentioned as candidates for a Republican gubernatorial nomination."[14]

The letter was not made public until the end of January.[15] In the meantime, Wentworth had been thoroughly frightened by the libel suit and had toned down his vituperative prose. In the columns of the *Democrat* he protested that he had no intention of libeling Judd, that his opposition was purely political and not personal.[16] "He is as tame as a punished boy," reported one of Trumbull's correspondents on December 20. "It is regarded here as almost a miracle that Judd's one blow

[14] Lincoln to George W. Dole, Gurdon S. Hubbard, and William H. Brown, Dec. 14, 1859. (MSS, Chicago Historical Society.)

[15] *Press and Tribune*, Jan. 30, 1860.

[16] *Daily Democrat*, Dec. 5, 1859.

should have so badly broken the teeth of this dirty dog."[17]

But then, with wonted impudence, Wentworth attempted a *tour de force.* On December 21, he wrote to Lincoln:

> I wish to retain you in my suit. The very reason that you may assign for declining my offer is the very one that urges me to write you. You are friendly to us both. I prefer to put myself in the hands of mutual friends rather than like J put myself in the hands of those who have a deep interest in keeping up a quarrel. . . . If you cannot serve me, do not say so at once; but keep the offer under advisement.[18]

Lincoln, who was a friend of Judd's and had loaned him $3,000, did not accept this extraordinary invitation to act as Long John's counsel in the libel suit. That he was, however, deeply concerned about the quarrel and anxious to help resolve it without offending either man, is evident from Wentworth's subsequent letters to him.[19] By February, in the role of mediator which had been more or less thrust upon him, Lincoln had suggested a compromise whereby Wentworth was to publish an apology, while Judd was to withdraw his suit.[20]

Not too pleased with this proposal, Wentworth put off accepting it and turned for help to Lincoln's friend, Judge David Davis, who wanted Leonard Swett to be governor and was only too happy to work with Wentworth against Judd. Davis was much impressed with the "wonderful power of John Wentworth," and thought that with him managing the campaign, Lincoln might have won in 1858. In a series of letters he pressed Lincoln to give the Chicago editor a prominent role in the conduct of the 1860 campaign.[21]

Meanwhile, with the libel suit still on the court docket, the time had come to choose the Republican nominee for the annually elected mayor of Chicago, and Wentworth was

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[17] Walter Wright to Trumbull, Dec. 20, 1859, Trumbull Papers.

[18] Wentworth to Lincoln, Dec. 21, 1859, RTL Coll.

[19] *Ibid.,* Dec. 28 (misdated Nov. 28) 1859; Feb. 7, 11, 19, 22, 27, 1860. It is apparent from Wentworth's letters that Lincoln wrote several replies in which he discussed the libel suit. If Wentworth preserved them at the time they were probably destroyed with the rest of his papers in the Chicago Fire of 1871.

[20] David Davis to Lincoln, Feb. 21, 1860, RTL Coll.

[21] Davis to Lincoln, Feb. 21, April 23, May 5, 1860, *ibid.*

a candidate. The Judd faction forecast defeat if its enemy became the party's standard-bearer, and the *Tribune,* always friendly to Judd, turned its heaviest guns upon Wentworth, some barrages being aimed at his public record while others raked his personal history.[22] In spite of this intense opposition, Wentworth won a resounding victory at the polls. Delegates favoring him were elected in nine out of ten wards. Judd himself was badly beaten as leader of the anti-Wentworth candidates in the First Ward. At the convention, Wentworth was nominated on the first ballot. "The abuse of the *Press & Tribune,* this libel suit & other acts of persecution have compelled me to show my strength once more," he boasted to Lincoln.[23]

There was still the task of winning the election from the Democratic nominee, however, and it was now Wentworth's turn to plead for party harmony. "As you see our friends, everywhere urge upon them the importance of swelling the Republican majority," he advised Lincoln. "Write to all that you can influence the importance of a large & united vote. If Chicago goes against us this spring, what is to become of us?"[24]

From all sides pressure was brought upon the Judd group to forget its personal feelings and support the Republican ticket. And yet, Judd asked Lincoln, could he endorse Wentworth consistently with his own "personal honor," especially since the libels were unretracted. "Can or ought I to 'eat dirt' . . . What shall I do[,] write me," he concluded.[25]

Lincoln's reply, if he made one, has not been preserved, but at some time during the fortnight between the Republican city convention and the mayoral election, a truce was arranged.

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[22] *Press and Tribune,* Feb. 9, 15, 1860. See also *Chicago Times,* Feb. 21, 22, 23, 1860. Once Wentworth had been nominated, the Democratic *Times* began to reprint all of the *Tribune's* violent editorials against him.

[23] Wentworth to Lincoln, Feb. 19, 1860, RTL Coll.; *Press and Tribune,* Feb. 18, 20, 1860.

[24] Wentworth to Lincoln, Feb. 19, 1860, RTL Coll.

[25] Judd to Lincoln, Feb. 21, 1860, *ibid.*

Nothing more was heard of the libel suit, the final disposal of which is uncertain, since the court records did not survive the Great Fire. The *Tribune* swallowed its pride to advocate the election of the man it had so recently maligned.[26] From Trumbull in Washington came word favoring the united support of Wentworth. And although Lincoln was in the East for his Cooper Union address, his partner, William H. Herndon, showed up for one of the pre-election mass meetings.[27] Before such pressure, and in view of his own ambitions, Judd himself appeared at least twice upon the same platform with his enemy and went through the motions of urging his election.[28] "Wentworth," a Democrat reported to Douglas, "has literally whipped Judd, Arnold, Haines and the whole city administration party into his support. But although they give him an external and apparently a hearty support—yet I believe many of them would delight to see him defeated."[29] Nevertheless, when the voting was over, the Republicans had triumphed, and Wentworth was mayor.

The political attention of Chicago turned immediately to the approaching state and national contests. In the truce by which he secured the reluctant support of his Republican adversaries, Wentworth made no promise to back Judd for governor, or if he did, he broke it. Victory had not mollified his hatred in the least. "I do not intend that he should be Governor *under any circumstances,*" he informed Lincoln, and even Davis admitted that on the subject of Judd, Wentworth was "insane almost."[30] In language that was more restrained than heretofore, but nonetheless firm, the editorial columns of the *Democrat* argued persistently against Judd, and Went-

[26] *Press and Tribune,* Feb. 20, 1860.

[27] *Ibid.,* March 3, 1860; *Daily Democrat,* March 2, 1860; *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), March 2, 1860.

[28] *Press and Tribune,* March 2, 5, 1860.

[29] Usher F. Linder to Douglas, Feb. 26, 1860. (MSS, Stephen A. Douglas Papers, University of Chicago.)

[30] Wentworth to Lincoln, April 21, 1860; Davis to Lincoln, May 5, 1860, RTL Coll.

worth still pretended to see a dark plot developing to place Trumbull on the national ticket instead of Lincoln.[31]

Judd had powerful friends in his bid for the governorship, including Senator Trumbull, who urged his nomination as "the best and shrewdest politician we have in the State."[32] But he also faced strong opposition, especially from downstate Whigs and many Republicans doubted his ability to carry the state. The arguments against Judd were that while he might be the most deserving, he was not the most "available" candidate; he did not come from one of the doubtful areas in the middle of the state, where the election would be won or lost; he was too radical to win the votes of the conservative Whigs; he was the candidate of the professional politicians rather than the people.[33] Furthermore, his enemies declared, the feud with Wentworth had seriously weakened his political standing. As C. D. Hay wrote to Trumbull, "the prominent members of our party hereabouts think that his having instituted suit against Wentworth for slander, was at this time a very injudicious move, and would be used against him if nominated."[34] David Davis argued that "the bitter quarrel between him and Wentworth wd [*sic*] render his nomination a very injudicious one," since Long John's active co-operation was essential if the Republicans wished to carry the state.[35]

So long as Judd could be defeated, Wentworth was not greatly concerned over who should be nominated for governor. While officially he was a supporter of Swett, he also took the trouble to encourage Yates,[36] whose prospects seemed the dimmest of the three candidates. On the last day of April, the out-

[31] Wentworth to Lincoln, April 21, 30 (misdated May 30), 1860, *ibid.*

[32] Trumbull to Lincoln, March 26, 1860, *ibid.*

[33] James Ferree to Lincoln, Feb. 21, 1860, *ibid.*; John Olney to Trumbull, March 12, 1860; D. G. Hay to Trumbull, April 2, 20, 1860; William Jayne to Trumbull, May 13, 1860, Trumbull Papers; Allan Tomlin to Yates, May 22, 1860. (MSS, Richard Yates Papers, Illinois State Historical Library.)

[34] C. D. Hay to Trumbull, April 12, 1860, Trumbull Papers.

[35] Davis to Henry Dummer, Feb. 20, 1860, photostat in Chicago Historical Society.

[36] Wentworth to Yates, Feb. 27, March 29, April 12, 1860, Yates Papers.

look brightened for Judd when he received, in spite of Wentworth's determined opposition, an endorsement for governor by the Cook County Republican convention. "If I carry my own county I shall carry the convention," he had written to Trumbull a month earlier.[37]

Wentworth was not a delegate to the state convention at Decatur, but he put in an appearance anyhow and made a speech the evening of May 8, attacking Judd and praising Swett as the "Henry Clay of the West."[38] Judd led on the early ballots, only to see his opponents combine against him, and nominate Yates.[39]

That Wentworth's implacable opposition had been an important factor in Judd's disappointment was generally acknowledged. "The defeat of Mr. Judd for the gubernatorial nomination, was a victory for Wentworth," asserted the *State Register.*[40] It was a Pyrrhic victory, however. Once his defeat was apparent, Judd, with his usual adroitness, delivered a friendly and generous speech of acquiescence to the Decatur delegates and emerged with added popularity and respect.[41] Wentworth, on the other hand, was thwarted in his desire to be one of the two delegates-at-large to the national convention. Their selection was up to Lincoln,[42] but with no authorization David Davis had practically promised one of the positions to Wentworth—thereby foreshadowing his behavior at the national convention, where the Bloomington judge made commitments concerning patronage on Lincoln's behalf and without his knowledge. "Having spoken to Wentworth on the subject [of delegate-at-large] it would be suicidal now not to appoint him," Davis warned Lincoln.[43]

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[37] Judd to Trumbull, April 2, 1860, Trumbull Papers.
[38] *Press and Tribune,* May 9, 1860.
[39] *Weekly Democrat,* May 19, 1860.
[40] *Illinois State Register,* May 11, 1860.
[41] *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), May 16, 1860; William Jayne to Trumbull, May 13, 1860; Horace White to Trumbull, May 14, 1860, Trumbull Papers.
[42] Gustave Koerner, *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896,* Thomas J. McCormack, ed. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), II: 83.
[43] Davis to Lincoln, April 23, May 5, 1860, RTL Coll.

Perhaps Lincoln felt that Judd had been penalized too much already; perhaps he was repelled by Wentworth's ungenerous attitude after receiving Judd's help in winning the mayoralty; perhaps he disliked the ambiguous editorials in the *Democrat,* which seemed to favor William H. Seward more than himself for president. At any rate, he did not follow Davis' instructions. Gustave Koerner and Norman Judd were named delegates-at-large. In spite of his apparent triumphs, Wentworth was left outside the inner circle of party leaders.

At the national convention in Chicago, Judd and Davis composed their differences to work diligently for Lincoln. The latter's nomination and subsequent election was a distinct triumph for Judd, and he consequently expected to be named a member of the cabinet. Once again, however, factionalism among Illinois Republicans contributed to the thwarting of his high ambitions. Davis was in the van of those who fought his appointment, and Mary Lincoln, who had probably never forgiven Judd's contribution to her husband's defeat in 1855, added her influence against the Chicagoan.[44] In the end, no Illinoisan was named to the omnibus cabinet that Lincoln formed, but Judd was partially consoled with the ministry to Prussia. Davis was later appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Thus Lincoln continued to maintain something of a neutral position concerning the quarrels and rivalries among the state's Republicans.

Wentworth, however, received nothing at the hands of the administration. As upon several previous occasions, Long John's political power seemed to be completely broken. He was not re-elected mayor in 1861, and shortly after the beginning of hostilities between North and South, he sold the *Democrat* to its rival, the *Chicago Tribune.* During the war years his Republicanism continued to be of an unorthodox

[44] Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull* (Boston, 1913), 150-51; Mary Lincoln to Davis, Jan. 21, 1861, copy of original in David Davis Papers. (MSS, Illinois State Historical Library.)

brand. He bolted the party to support the Democratic candidate for mayor in 1862, and he campaigned the same year in favor of the proposed new state constitution drafted by a convention controlled by Democrats. It was also rumored that he wrote editorials for the notoriously anti-administration *Chicago Times*.[45] Yet, regardless of these irregularities, he managed to engineer one more revival of his political power. In 1864, he captured the Republican nomination for Congress and went back to Washington, after an absence of ten years, to serve his sixth term in the House of Representatives.

Judd, meanwhile, continued to represent the United States at the Prussian court. When Lincoln was re-elected, he rented his house for another four years and bought new furniture in the confident expectation of remaining in Berlin at least until 1869. The President's assassination and the inauguration of Andrew Johnson greatly diminished his sense of security. Worried, he wrote to his friend Lyman Trumbull asking where he stood:

> Wentworth under Mr. Lincoln could not hurt me. Under Mr. Johnson it is different. He is a member of Congress and I am in Europe. His scheming and malignity knows [*sic*] no bounds. He may think he is so firmly seated that there would be no danger in my returning, and hence he could afford to indulge his malignity.[46]

By June of 1865, his fears had been confirmed. Asked to resign by the Johnson administration, he rightly or wrongly ascribed his removal to the influence of his old nemesis. "A certain writer who usually signs himself 'J. W.' has rather prompt revenge," he wrote to Trumbull.[47] With a disgruntled Judd returning home from Prussia, and with Wentworth preparing to run for re-election to Congress, the stage was set for the final act of the feud. What better retaliation could Judd make than to wrest the Republican nomination from his enemy and return to Washington in his stead?

[45] *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 2, 1866.
[46] Judd to Trumbull, May 7, 1865, Trumbull Papers.
[47] *Ibid.*, June 12, 1865.

Back in Chicago, Judd's old friends of the *Tribune* came to his aid with a slashing attack upon Wentworth's record in Congress. The city of Chicago, it declared, had "outgrown Wentworth in dignity and moral stature." He was accused of excessive absenteeism, of a callous attitude toward the interests of war veterans and of habitual drunkenness.[48]

> We are very far from raising a temperance issue in the present campaign, but in a case where shameful exhibitions of intemperance are coupled with no evidences of practical statesmanship, no influence with other members of Congress, no efforts to promote the local interests of the district, and nothing but buffoonery, we say that we prefer to sustain Congress by sustaining our own self-respect.[49]

The *Tribune* was careful not to give the impression of dictating the substitution of Judd for Wentworth, but as early as August, Trumbull told his brother-in-law, William Jayne, that it was "pretty well settled that Judd will be a candidate against Wentworth & I guess will beat him."[50] This prophecy proved accurate. In the October 9 primary, 126 Judd delegates were elected to 104 for Wentworth, and on the following day the district convention nominated Judd after a number of dilatory moves by Wentworth's supporters had failed.[51] Elected in November, Judd served two terms in Congress, and thus, in a way, won the final round from his longtime antagonist.[52]

It is interesting, also, to note that in 1872, at the national convention of Liberal Republicans in Cincinnati, the same old cleavages were apparent among Illinoisans, who had several leading aspirants for the presidential nomination. Around Lyman Trumbull there clustered the *Chicago Tribune's* Horace

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[48] *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 2, 13, 15, 16, 22, Oct. 3, 1866.

[49] *Ibid.,* Aug. 31, 1866.

[50] Trumbull to William Jayne, Aug. 19, 1866. (MSS, Lyman Trumbull Papers, Illinois State Historical Library.)

[51] *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 10, 11, 1866.

[52] Wentworth was also an unsuccessful candidate for Congress in 1870, running as an independent Democrat. He was supported, surprisingly enough, by the *Tribune,* whose Joseph Medill had been defeated for the Republican nomination by Charles B. Farwell. Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago,* Vol. II (New York, 1940), 299.

White and others who had been part of the Judd faction twelve years before, although Judd himself, soon to be turned out to Republican pasture as collector of customs at Chicago, was apparently not active. Supporting David Davis for the nomination were Leonard Swett, Judd's old opponent for governor, and John Wentworth, who acted as Davis' floor manager.[53] Failure to receive the united support of their own state delegation was a handicap to both candidates and undoubtedly contributed to their defeat.

Norman Judd and John Wentworth were two men who agreed upon most of the major political issues of their day, and yet who spent a large part of their lives fighting each other. Their long and bitter rivalry was symptomatic of the factionalism among Illinois Republicans in the Civil War era. But more than that, the story of their marathon feud amounts to a case study of the personal equation in political behavior. It is a striking illustration of how issues and principles—and even self-interest—can be forgotten in the heat of personal hatred.

[53] Lucius G. Fisher to Davis, April 17, 1872; Wentworth to Jesse W. Fell (telegram), April 30, 1872, Davis Papers; *Chicago Tribune,* May 1, 1872; Koerner, *Memoirs,* II: 543-44; White, *Trumbull,* 380-81. A third group of Illinoisans was working for John M. Palmer.

A FORGOTTEN FIGURE IN CHICAGO'S MEDICAL HISTORY

BY THOMAS N. BONNER

WHEN Dr. Bayard Holmes died in 1924, the late Victor Robinson, historian and editor of *Medical Life,* dedicated an entire issue of his journal to the doctor and his work with the hope that a biography of this unusual man would soon be forthcoming. A quarter-century has passed. Not only has no biography appeared, but a generation has matured which knows virtually nothing of this highly controversial physician. It is time that the highlights of Holmes' career as Chicago physician and humanitarian were reviewed.

It was 1871 when young Bayard Holmes first came to Chicago. His background of farm life in rural Vermont and a pioneer's existence on the Minnesota prairie had not prepared him for what he found in the great city. Chicago in 1871 was rapidly becoming an industrial giant; manufacturing, business and commerce occupied the attention of the overwhelming majority of her citizens. As a boy of nineteen, Holmes was entranced by the hustle, the impatience, the shrillness of life in the roaring city. The impression proved to be indelible: Holmes never forgot his own reactions when he

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later observed the plight of hapless victims of the relentless and impersonal process of industrialization.[1]

Holmes completed his liberal education at the old Chicago University, and then commenced a career of teaching which lasted eleven years before his attention finally turned to medicine. His medical education was begun in the summer of 1883, just in time for the demonstration by William T. Belfield of the new tubercle bacillus in the Rush Medical College amphitheater. He enrolled at the Chicago Homeopathic College in the fall of 1883 and received his M.D. degree the following year. His unusual maturity and devotion to his studies won him an internship at Cook County Hospital, an uncommon distinction for a homeopathic graduate.

At the County Hospital, Holmes championed the young science of bacteriology. This was in itself remarkable for a man just out of medical school, but the achievement was even more arresting when measured against the obstacles confronting the youthful doctor. For in 1884 there was very little literature available in Chicago on the latest researches in bacteriology; no public medical library existed to make lighter the task of investigation; and laboratory materials were almost impossible to come by. Holmes was forced to import a few ounces of agar agar because none was obtainable in the United States.[2]

There were, moreover, certain psychological hazards to be overcome. When he set up a bathroom laboratory at the hospital, Holmes became a subject for ridicule from other internes who "looked upon it as an extension of the high potency fad which their professors of medicine had caricatured in the annual lectures against homeopathy."[3] His bacteriological studies proved to be of considerable importance, however, when he teamed with the great surgeon-pathologist Christian

[1] *Dictionary of American Biography.*

[2] Bayard Holmes, "Medical Education in Chicago in 1882 and After," *Medical Life,* n. s. XXVIII (New York, 1921), 11-12, 406-9, 573-74.

[3] *Ibid.,* 409.

Fenger to conduct research on the likelihood of atmospheric infection from falling germs during operations. He was shortly thereafter called upon to conduct the first course in bacteriology given in a Chicago medical school.[4]

Holmes' interest in research led him to the discovery that there was no large collection of medical books or periodicals to which the public had access. Not more than two or three sets of the great German yearbooks, such as Schmidt's *Jahrbücher* or the Virchow-Hirsch *Jahresbericht,* could be found in the entire city in the 1880's and these were not available except by personal favor to investigators.[5] No public medical library existed in Chicago until 1883 when the Chicago Public Library established a medical department.

Holmes was instrumental in organizing an association for the purpose of establishing an adequate medical library in 1889. As secretary of the group, he outlined plans for a building financed by the contributions of physicians. Later in the year, however, an agreement was reached with Newberry Library whereby that institution would set up a medical section and Holmes' Medical Library Association was to turn over the small collection of books which had fallen into its hands.[6] The Newberry medical department was subsequently swelled by the magnificent gift of Dr. Nicholas Senn, celebrated Chicago and Milwaukee surgeon, of ten thousand volumes in surgery and medicine. The problem of an adequate medical library was finally solved in 1906 when the new John Crerar Library purchased the Newberry collection of more than 65,000 volumes and embarked on a program of expansion.[7]

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[4] C. Fenger and B. Holmes, "Antisepsis in Abdominal Operations; Synopsis of a Series of Bacteriological Studies," *The Journal of the American Medical Association,* IX (1887), 444, 470-72; Northwestern University Medical School, Record of Proceedings of Faculty Meetings, Feb. 24, 1890, MS, Church Library, Northwestern University Medical School.

[5] *Proceedings of the Testimonial Banquet given in Honor of Prof. Christian Fenger, on November 3rd, 1900, by the Medical Profession* (Chicago, 1900), 39.

[6] Board of Trustees, Newberry Library, to N. S. Davis, Dec. 28, 1889, MS, Chicago Medical Library Association Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

[7] Chicago Medical Society, Minutes, April 2, 1894, June 20, 1906, MSS, Chicago Historical Society.

Young Holmes' interest in bacteriology and other recent developments in medicine, joined as it was to a life-long interest in pedagogy, led him to accept in 1889 a teaching position at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Chicago. He held also the position of secretary of the college, in which capacity he figured largely in the school's reorganization in 1891. He was especially fortunate in winning over young experimental scientists to his institution. He succeeded, for example, in getting Albert P. Ohlmacher to teach embryology and biology; Ludvig Hektoen was persuaded to take the courses in pathology; and Weller Van Hook agreed to help teach surgical pathology. These appointments were important in furthering Holmes' aim of de-emphasizing the didactic courses heretofore stressed in the school and transferring interest to the practical work of the laboratory. The pioneering enthusiasm of Holmes and his colleagues at the College of Physicians and Surgeons enabled them to withstand the taunts of colleagues in other Chicago medical schools; they took a quiet satisfaction in the warm reception accorded their students' drawings and exercises at the Detroit meeting of the American Medical Association. A laboratory building was added to the school in 1892, largely through Holmes' efforts. It was the first structure of its kind in Chicago and the first erected by a private medical school in the United States.[8]

Holmes' interest in medical education never waned. As late as 1909 he called for important changes in the philosophy of medical education in the direction of making broader and more liberal the educational background of the physician. He sought to eliminate the rote, trade-school and mechanical aspects of medical training and substitute a broader educational experience, one wherein the student would be forced to use the library extensively, not because of academic pressures but out

[8] B. Holmes, "Medical Education in Chicago," *Medical Life*, n. s. XXIX (1922), 32-41; Chicago Medical Society, *History of Medicine and Surgery and Physicians and Surgeons of Chicago* (Chicago, 1922), 219.

of intellectual interest and desire to learn. Though Holmes' idealism undoubtedly drove him too far in seeking to rid the medical curriculum of its drudging, mnemonic features, he did much to impress his generation with the absurdity of treating medicine as a technical compendium.[9]

Just as Holmes was sensitive to the newest currents in scientific and educational thought, so was he alive to the intellectual ferment in the world of politics and social thought. The industrial transformation had brought in its wake a host of problems which the new men of wealth for the most part seemed to ignore. The long hours of work, the low rates of pay, the employment of women and children, the lack of public interest in the unemployed and, above all, the mushrooming of slums and crowded rooming houses created a growing dissatisfaction in the 1880's which was not confined to the classes affected. Chicago seemed to excel other cities in the misery and degradation of her citizens. There were almost nine thousand children under fifteen employed in 1884; there were, in one small area of the city, 811 sleeping rooms without outside windows, and only 2.8 per cent of the families involved enjoyed the use of a bathroom; there were hundreds of sweatshops with their accompanying filth and disease.[10] Housing conditions, asserted one writer in the *Weekly Medical Review*, were unspeakable:

> The sole recourse usually is to the tenement . . . heaped floor above floor, in a tainted atmosphere, or . . . low fetid hovels, . . . for the landlord here is also the air-lord, the lord of sunlight, lord of all the primary conditions of life and living; and these are doled out for a price, failing which the wretched tenant is turned out to seek a habitation still more miserable.[11]

Holmes' sympathies for the victims of the new industrial order were first aroused at the County Hospital, where the

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[9] B. Holmes, *The Neglect of Medical Literature* (reprinted from *American Medicine*, n. s. IV, 1909, 175-77), 4-7.

[10] *Report of the Department of Health for the Years 1883 and 1884* (Chicago, 1885), 59; Edith Abbott, *The Tenements of Chicago, 1908-1935* (Chicago, 1936), 31-32.

[11] G. Homan, "Public Health and the Land Question," *Weekly Medical Review*, XXII (Nov. 8, 1890), 362.

poverty and destitution of the jobless moved him to compassion. While yet an interne, he met and befriended a scholarly Russian Jew, a patient in the hospital, who introduced him to the social thought of Karl Marx. He later fell under the influence of Florence Kelley of Hull House, with whom he worked in reporting health conditions in the garment industry. During the terrible depression winter of 1893-1894, he conducted a free clinic in a region frequented by crowds of homeless and unemployed. As a reformer, he undertook the organization of interested Christians in a program of social action known as the National Christian Citizenship League.[12]

Spurred on by humanitarian sympathy, Christian altruism, and the writings of Marx and Henry George, this gentle and humane physician began to work out his own social and economic philosophy. The limit to man's productiveness, he reasoned from his knowledge of technology, had not yet been reached, and yet man was confronted with the phenomenon of overproductiveness with its resulting depressions and human misery: "There is too much wheat, too much flour, and too much bread, therefore, the economists say, women and children must starve. There is too much wool, too much coal and too much oil, therefore they must freeze." The answer to this riddle, Holmes felt, was a just scheme of distributing to the people the products of their own labor. His experience in clinic and hospital told him that not just the drunken and shiftless starved, as defenders of the *status quo* charged, but also the unemployed; indeed, it was the jobless who were driven to that idleness and irresponsibility which apologists for capitalism deplored. Public ownership of the means of production and distribution, Holmes agreed with Marx, was the only effective answer to the indifference of private owners to the well-being of the employed and unemployed alike.[13]

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[12] B. Holmes, "The Origin of the Economic Conscience; a Country-Bred Boy's Education in Economics," *Medical Life,* XXXI (July, 1924), 260-63.

[13] B. Holmes, "The Confession of a Socialist," MS, John Crerar Library.

In the grim year of 1894, Holmes flayed the sweating system, wealthy manufacturers, and the Chicago health commissioner for their parts in the spread of the big smallpox epidemic of that year. The epidemic was particularly severe in the sweating district where clothiers and their employees resisted efforts of Health Department officers to destroy infected garments in smallpox-ridden homes. The employee who held a garment which represented his food and shelter for a week did not willingly surrender it for the privilege of helping to destroy germs which he probably did not believe in anyway.[14] Holmes' indictment of the whole situation was well supported by the reports of the Factory Inspector of Illinois.

In 1895 Holmes was induced to run as the People's Party candidate for mayor of Chicago. All the forces of discontent which were to erupt on a national plane the following year were evident in the Holmes campaign. The liberal lawyer, Clarence Darrow, was chairman of the convention which nominated Holmes; the followers of Eugene Debs endorsed Holmes' candidacy; Henry Demarest Lloyd took an important part in the campaign. Socialists, populists, single-taxers, progressives and liberals of all shades rallied to the support of the mild physician, but to no avail. Holmes suffered a sharp defeat; this was the only time that he ever ran for public office.[15]

Another feature of this unusual man's character was revealed when his son was stricken with dementia praecox in 1906. Holmes gave up medical practice to devote the remainder of his life to a study of the mysterious affliction which eventually claimed the boy's life. With his old energy and enthusiasm he undertook basic studies in the field of mental disease, and in a few years was turning out articles of first-rate importance. He established a quarterly journal devoted to dementia praecox studies, and secured a floor of the Psycho-

[14] B. Holmes, "The Sweat-shops and Smallpox in Chicago," *The Journal of the American Medical Association,* XXIII (Sept. 15, 1894), 419-22.

[15] Scrapbook clippings in Bayard Holmes, Medical Papers and Typewritten Manuscripts, John Crerar Library.

pathic Hospital in Chicago for his investigations. A number of his essays and research articles were published in two volumes, appearing in 1911 and 1915.[16]

This short article can hardly do justice to a man whose interests were universal, who was ever so alert to new stimuli in education, in medicine, in politics, and in literature. No mention has been made, for example, of his attempts to institute more democratic proceedings within the American Medical Association. Like many physicians of the progressive era, Holmes deplored the concentration of power in the hands of trustees and the utter helplessness of the rank and file to oppose A.M.A. policies. He sympathized with the campaign of medical editors and writers to make the organization more responsive to the will of its members.[17]

Bayard Holmes died in 1924, still bearing the stigma of radicalism which less daring contemporaries had fixed on him. Scholarly and gentle, humane and charitable, this remarkable physician's life combined the virtue of Christian service with a self-sacrificing idealism. Graham Taylor, the noted social worker, penned the following tribute to Holmes:

> On one occasion, when we were together on a western Chautauqua platform he was so deeply touched with the sorrows of the East London poor, which he was describing that he ceased speaking, left the platform, and went out into the open to be by himself until he could control his voice. . . .
>
> Dr. Holmes had the courage not only of his convictions, but also of his sympathies. He was unafraid and not ashamed to think ahead of his time, to feel deeply and to express his feelings freely, to stand with and for the mute many against the dominant few, or to stand alone and dare to fail. . . .
>
> Skillful surgeon and spirited citizen, he ministered to the public health at any cost to private practice, to "the mind diseased," and to the welfare of the body politic. He served his generation by seeking the coming of the better day, and died not until he saw its early dawning.[18]

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[16] B. Holmes, "Bayard Holmes, M. D., 1888," MS, John Crerar Library. This was apparently arranged as notes for an autobiographical sketch of some kind. The titles of Holmes' collected essays were: *The Friends of the Insane, the Soul of Medical Education, and Other Essays* (1911), and *The Insanity of Youth . . .* (1915).

[17] See, for example, the editorial in the *Medical Standard,* XXXII (Dec., 1909), 625-26.

[18] "A Letter from Graham Taylor," *Medical Life,* XXXI (July, 1924), 253. A bibliography of Holmes' published writings may be found in *ibid.,* XXXVII (Aug., 1930), 441-54.

CIVIL WAR SUBVERSIVES

BY BETHANIA MERADITH SMITH

WITHIN the extensive and often dangerous disaffection in the Northwest from 1861 to 1865 there developed certain secret societies generically known as the Knights of the Golden Circle.

The original Knights of the Golden Circle had a lurid history in the prewar South. The order apparently began sometime in the 1850's as a band of adventurers bent upon the conquest of Mexico and all the area surrounding the Caribbean—hence "Golden Circle." It seems to have been some sort of outgrowth and strengthening of numerous Southern Rights Clubs of the 1830's and 1840's. A sensational pamphlet published in Indianapolis in 1861 claimed that those clubs had equipped and sent out some six ships for piracy and "blackbirding" between 1834 and 1840. After several of these vessels were caught by the British and other fleets, the S.R.C. changed tactics enough to send filibustering expeditions to Cuba and to make general nuisances of themselves throughout the Caribbean area—especially after the Mexican War.[1]

[1] *An Authentic Exposition of the "K. G. C." "Knights of the Golden Circle," . . .* By a Member of the Order (Indianapolis, 1861), 6.

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About 1854 one George W. L. Bickley appeared on the scene and organized the Knights of the Golden Circle. Both Cincinnati, and Lexington, Kentucky, are mentioned as the site of its first organization, with the honors generally conceded to Cincinnati. Bickley appears to have been a plausible humbug much given to elaborate schemes, high-sounding rituals, and a tendency to start off in big ways and shortly lose the confidence of his supporters. He represented himself differently at different times but generally he claimed to be a graduate in medicine of various foreign universities. Unfortunately the universities he mentioned did not have any record of his work. In 1852 he got himself appointed to the chair of *materia medica,* therapeutics, and medical botany at the Eclectic Medical Institute of Ohio in Cincinnati. He hung onto this job until 1859 "and occasionally performed its duties." Along the line somewhere he also seems to have taught medical jurisprudence at the Ohio Law School.[2]

From Cincinnati the order spread rapidly, especially in the cotton South, and for several years Bickley seems to have given most of his time to propagating the Knights. The Knights co-operated with William Walker and others in various filibustering expeditions and did their best to promote the extension of slavery by conquest of Mexico. Failing in their filibustering efforts, by 1860 one of their chief purposes was to promote secession; in the Gulf states this effort made real progress. But by spring of 1861 secession became an accomplished fact, so there was no place for an underground society promoting the doctrine; the K. G. C., therefore, ceased activity in the South and shifted to the non-seceding states. "Castles," as the local units were called, became numerous in the border slave states and the Knights attracted the attention of the Kentucky

[2] George Fort Milton, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* (New York, 1942), 66-71; Ollinger Crenshaw, "The Knights of the Golden Circle," *The American Historical Review,* Vol. XLVII, no. 1 (Oct. 1941), 23-50; Mayo Fesler, "Secret Political Societies in the North During the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History,* Vol. XIV, no. 3 (Sept., 1918), 190.

legislature, which called for an investigation into their activities.[3] Bickley, in reply, published an *Open Letter to the Kentucky Legislature* claiming eight thousand members scattered through every county. He published the first two degrees and defiantly stated the K.G.C. would keep up their work till the Stars and Bars flew over the capitol at Frankfort. He was roundly attacked by the *Louisville Journal* and conveniently skipped out to Virginia "to get a legacy." The K.G.C. throve in Kentucky and later proved a real danger. Its secret aims were to discourage enlistments in the Union Army, foster desertions from the Army (the deserter was instructed to bring with him all arms and gear and, if mounted, his horse), aid enlistments in the Confederate Army, destroy government stores, break up communications, try to get "peace" men (that is, Copperheads) into office, act as spies and informers for the Confederates: in short, the creation of a real Trojan horse within the loyal states.

These secret aims were not known to the large majority of the members. The greater number of Knights had taken only the Vestibule degree and believed they were members of a sort of "Little Men's Chowder and Marching Society" whose purposes were to protect the rights of Democrats, to uphold law and order, and to preserve freedom of the ballot against the tyrannical Republicans and their gendarmes. The ulterior purposes were confided—and then orally—only to members of the two advanced degrees.

Most Democratic newspapers denied the existence of any Copperhead secret societies, loudly asserting them to be figments of overwrought and vicious imaginations.[4] And it is likely that the majority of Democrats honestly believed this to

[3] Kentucky General Assembly, *House Journal,* May, 1861, pp. 137-40; *Senate Journal,* May, 1861, pp. 141, 146. The George W. L. Bickley MSS, many of which were captured at the time of his arrest in July, 1863, were examined in 1918 by Mayo Fesler in the Judge Advocate General's office in Washington, D. C.

[4] The *Indianapolis Sentinel* made frequent witty jibes at the K. G. C. as "Knights of the Governor's Circle," or Republicans who were war grafters, hence truly "Knights of the Golden Circle," etc.

be the case. Such belief was possible because of the nature of the orders. The oaths of all degrees forbade mentioning the name of the organization in the presence of a non-member. Meetings were held in utmost secrecy in by-places—woods, barns, abandoned buildings, quarries—and were closely guarded by armed sentries.

By the summer of 1861 the Knights in Illinois were aiding enlistments in the Confederate Army and committing outrages upon loyal citizens. In Iowa they were active; around Dubuque men who enlisted in the U. S. Army had their homes burned, and the U. S. marshal at Des Moines turned up evidence that the K.G.C. were smuggling munitions to Missouri outlaws. In Indiana the Knights were more numerous than in any other northern state, with southern Illinois a close second. By 1862 the K.G.C. claimed castles in every Illinois county and on August 25, 1862, the *Chicago Tribune* in an exposé of affairs around Cairo estimated a membership of 20,000. Missouri membership was reported at 10,000 to 60,000, though Mayo Fesler thinks that at no time did the actual number reach 10,000. Membership in the K.G.C., the Corps de Belgique, the Order of the Star, Knights of Columbian Star, Knights of the Mighty Host, Circle of Honor, or any of the dozen or more names used at different times and places for such societies was made up mostly of the riffraff of the Democratic Party, with courthouse or even more localized politicians seeking to get control of the machine. Lodges were reported in almost every state of the Union and in at least one territory.[5]

In reality there never have been complete or even accurate membership figures on any of these subversive societies. The K.G.C. was too loose in its organization, and, when the later orders tightened up control, figures were still vague—or wishful. Besides, many of the records were destroyed by officials expecting arrest. In after years it was almost impossible to

[5] Fesler, "Secret Political Societies," 188-90.

catch a real live former Knight. Men changed their minds, were ashamed of their youthful silliness, destroyed their personal papers, and knew nothing about the orders. The oaths of these societies were ornate and fearful, puerile in their bombast, but at the same time infinitely dangerous in their pledges of unfailing obedience to the leader on pain of death. Death by torture was to be the reward of any Knight revealing secrets of the organization. Long years later, when the societies had been nonexistent for a generation, men refused to break their oaths and tell of the many secret conclaves. Fesler, in his pioneering work on these societies, ran into such refusals to talk on the part of known former members.

Whatever the size of the membership the nuisance value of such orders was high. Acting as a core of resistance for widespread disaffection, they sheltered and fostered cutthroats, bushwhackers, and outlaw gangs as a by-product of their secret activities. That such fostering may, often as not, have been inadvertent does not detract from its reality. For gangs of hoodlums and outlaws could commit outrages under color of being Knights in action. That only a few or none of the gang may actually have been Knights did not relieve the orders of odium, or improve their reputation.

In May, 1862, a federal grand jury began an investigation of the Knights of the Golden Circle in Indiana.[6] After a three-month session the grand jury prepared a report which estimated the strength of the K.G.C. in Indiana at 15,000. It stated also that the grand jury had "abundant evidence of the membership lending themselves to resist payment of the federal tax and to prevent enlistments in the army of the United States." The report noted a failure to provide volunteers in areas where the K.G.C. was strong. Grand jury members learned the secret recognition signs while conducting hearings. Upon visiting the Indiana State Democratic Convention in early

[6] *Ibid.*, 202-4; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 4, 1862; *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, Aug. 5, 1862.

August grand jury members saw delegates exchanging the K.G.C. signs.

The report of the grand jury was published on August 4 and it has frequently been assumed that its release at this juncture was a partisan move to damage as much as possible the Democrats then in convention. Examination of the court record makes this idea difficult to sustain. The report was published as soon as possible after its completion and upon the order of Judge Samuel H. Treat, the stalwart Democrat of Illinois, who for some reason was presiding at this term of court.[7]

Southern Illinois had a number of castles in the spring of 1862. In the region there was open sympathy with the rebellion and a Carlinville summer picnic was reported to have cheered for Jefferson Davis. In both Charleston and Vandalia groups of men rode through the streets cheering for Jefferson Davis and General John Hunt Morgan.[8]

Despite exposure timed badly for the Democrats, the 1862 elections came upon the heels of military discouragement and were mostly Democratic and pacifistic in outcome; the home front situation grew no better. On January 13, 1863, the *Chicago Tribune* charged that the 109th Illinois Volunteers which Grant had recently disbanded for treasonable behavior, was a circle of the K.G.C. In Indiana, Governor Morton ran a virtual dictatorship from 1863 on, after the legislature tried to take away his war powers and refused to vote appropriations.

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[7] In addition to the grand jury report the Republican *Indianapolis Daily Journal* on Aug. 4 carried a feature story stating that the grand jury had returned 60 indictments of which 16 were for treason, 18 for conspiracy to seize United States property, 13 for conspiracy to defeat operation of the law. This statement and the grand jury report were carried the next day by the Democratic *Sentinel*. The indictments mentioned total 47 rather than 60 but the newspaper statement was accepted by Fesler and every subsequent writer on the subject whose works I have seen. The U. S. District Court Order Book for May 21, 1860 to Nov. 24, 1863, in the office of the Clerk of the U. S. District Court in Indianapolis lists 33 indictments for conspiracy during the period in question, and none for treason. Were the newspaper figures, given first in the Republican press, based on fact? If the *Journal* was fanciful instead of factual it may stand as an example of the unscrupulous acts practiced by both sides during the period.

[8] Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War* (New York, 1942), 91. Gray's statements are based upon several Illinois newspapers of June and Aug., 1862.

By dint of personal ingenuity Morton ruled without a legislature, raising money by divers means, keeping the Indiana government on an even keel by extra-legal devices. In the spring of 1863 Governor Yates seized upon a technicality and prorogued the Illinois legislature after that assemblage tried to vote a cessation of hostilities on the part of Illinois.

Meanwhile General Ambrose Burnside had become commander of the Military District of Ohio and, on April 13, 1863, put teeth into his administration by issuing General Order No. 38, setting a high penalty on expressing sympathy for the enemy and establishing a doctrine of "expressed or implied treason." Burnside's order gave Clement L. Vallandigham, ex-congressman and the most notable Copperhead of Ohio and the North, his chance to do a spread eagle act of martyrdom. On May 1 Vallandigham made a speech at Mount Vernon, Ohio, defying General Order No. 38 and then went home to wait for his arrest. Burnside obliged on May 5 and Vallandigham was hauled off to prison in Cincinnati.[9]

Following the trial and conviction of Vallandigham, Lincoln commuted his sentence to banishment to the Confederacy, where the embarrassed rebels received him gingerly and smuggled him off to Canada. From Canadian soil the now ridiculous Vallandigham conducted a hot absentee campaign for the governorship of Ohio, but was soundly beaten in October by John Brough, a War Democrat running as a Republican. An interesting sidelight of this campaign was the open use by Vallandigham's supporters of the term "Copperhead," in the sense of the deadly snake, to describe themselves.[10]

Indiana was not lacking for excitement during May, 1863. All spring near anarchy had prevailed in several Indiana counties. Brown County became the scene of almost complete dis-

[9] *Appleton's American Annual Cyclopedia,* 1863, p. 473. Vallandigham's behavior and arrest were highly theatrical and ludicrous.

[10] Vallandigham and Pugh song book in Thomas Henry Hines Papers, Wilson Library, University of Kentucky. This pamphlet contains a song, "Listen to the Copperheads," to be sung to the tune of "Listen to the Mockingbird."

order as armed Knights patrolled the area. The head of the K.G.C.—one Louis Prosser by name, a former legislator—had shot and killed a soldier on April 18, during a Union meeting while a Captain Cunning of the Indiana Volunteers was making a speech. Cunning, in turn, drew a revolver and mortally wounded Prosser. The K.G.C. carried him off to the hills and kept up intensive drilling with smuggled firearms and bowie knives.[11] The Democrats planned a mass meeting in Indianapolis for May 20. About 10,000 or 12,000 Democrats appeared and a good 3,000 of them were armed. The speakers were to be Vallandigham, George H. Pendleton, S. S. "Sunset" Cox, Joseph E. McDonald, and others—all tinted with Copperheadism. Governor Morton had information that the mass meeting would be a signal for the K.G.C. to try to seize the government stores, arms, and arsenals, and to release rebel prisoners at Camp Morton. He stationed a small force of federal troops under General Milo S. Hascall at strategic spots throughout the city.

Seymour of New York and "Sunset" Cox didn't come, Pendleton thought it unsafe to appear, and by this time Vallandigham was in jail. However, Daniel W. Voorhees, "The Tall Sycamore of the Wabash," presided and his speech was a jeremiad of defeatism. The meeting was an all-day affair on the Statehouse grounds. General Hascall had trained a cannon on the Statehouse and stationed several companies of troops at the Circle, in the center of the city, but he had ordered the soldiers to stay away from the Statehouse. About 4 P.M., during a speech by Thomas A. Hendricks, just preceding the report of the resolutions committee, a band of eight or ten soldiers threatened to attack the speaker. There was quite a ruckus till Colonel Coburn arrived from north of the Statehouse and held off the soldiers and permitted the resolutions to be read. These did not soothe ruffled feelings when they

[11] Fesler, "Secret Political Societies," 208-9.

declared that the administration had two wars on hand: (A) against the rebels; (B) against the Constitution.

The rest of the evening was a near riot. Union speeches broke into the proceedings and the enthusiastic veterans compelled repeated cheers for the torn Indiana battle flags. The evening trains pulled out amid minor fusillades fired into the air. The train to Cincinnati was halted and about five hundred loaded revolvers captured, but a great number of pistols sailed out the car windows and landed in the creek called Pogue's Run.[12] The K.G.C. was sufficiently discomfited after "the Battle of Pogue's Run" to cause its leaders to bethink themselves of the need for a tighter, more efficient organization.

At this juncture appeared Phineas C. Wright, formerly of New Orleans but since 1862 a resident of St. Louis. There he was a member of the Corps de Belgique, pro-Southern in purpose and formed by a Belgian consul in St. Louis, Charles L. Hunt, who had his exequater canceled by Seward for his meddling. The Corps de Belgique aimed to unite Confederate sympathizers in Missouri and to co-operate with Price when he should make his grand invasion of that state. Sometime during the spring of 1863 Wright got himself made Supreme Grand Commander of the society which he re-christened the Order of American Knights.[13] Its aims were about the same as those of the K.G.C.; its organization was tighter and its ritual slightly changed. S. Corning Judd of Lewistown became Grand Commander for Illinois at a Democratic mass meeting at Springfield on June 17, 1863. The O.A.K. continued the practice of smuggling arms and ammunition to its members, shipping this contrabrand by freight or express

[12] *Ibid.*, 211; William D. Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton* (Indianapolis, 1899), I: 273-74; Kenneth M. Stampp, *Indiana Politics During the Civil War* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, XXXI, Indianapolis, 1949), 199-201; Milton, *Lincoln and the Fifth Column*, 91-92; *Indianapolis Journal*, May 21-25, 1863; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 21-26, 1863.

[13] Fesler, "Secret Political Societies," 226-27; Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 163; U. S. Judge Advocate General, *Official Report . . . On the Order of American Knights*, 323; Milton, *Lincoln and the Fifth Column*, 72.

under such labels as "hardware" and "Sunday School books."[14]

Harrison H. Dodd of Indianapolis was Grand Commander for Indiana but the exiled Vallandigham was the chief power of the O.A.K. The Provost-Marshal General for Missouri thought Vallandigham[15] founded the new order after consulting with Davis in Richmond. The O.A.K. probably became stronger in Indiana than anywhere else, mainly because of Dodd's energy. On paper it had a strong military branch which was unknown to the rank and file membership. Like the K.G.C., the O.A.K. was not in good odor with most Democratic leaders, though a few joined for help in the fall elections. Dr. William Bowles of French Lick Springs, Indiana, and Judge Joshua F. Bullitt, Justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, soon became with Dodd the prime movers of the O.A.K. in its revolutionary aspects.[16] These men and James A. Barrett, Grand Commander of Missouri, kept in touch with Confederate agents in Canada and throughout the North, receiving from the Confederates large sums of money. There was a serious riot in Danville, Illinois,[17] in resistance to draft enrollment, and Indiana experienced riots, burnings, outrages and murders following the Confederate disasters of 1863. Morgan's raid into Indiana and Ohio, July 7 to 26, 1863, seemingly encouraged by a belief that O. A. K. would co-operate, found no co-operation was forthcoming.[18]

During the winter of 1863-1864, Wright initiated another change in the name of the order. This time it became the Sons of Liberty—after the secret society of the American Revolu-

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[14] Richard Yates to Edwin M. Stanton, April 3, 1863, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1889), ser. 3, III: 116.

[15] U. S. Judge Advocate General, *Report*, 323; Stampp, *Indiana Politics*, 232.

[16] Felix G. Stidger, ed., *Treason History of the Order of Sons of Liberty . . .* (Chicago, 1903), 37, 49-50, 53, 94, 103, 105; Milton, *Lincoln and the Fifth Column*, 34-36, 71-72.

[17] William C. Cochran, "The Dream of a Northwest Confederacy," *Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings 1916* (Madison, 1917), 246.

[18] Indiana Adjutant General, *Report 1861-65*, Vol. I: 299; Margrette Boyer, "Morgan's Raid in Indiana," *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, Vol. VIII, no. 4 (Dec. 1912), 151.

tion. Vallandigham became Supreme Commander at a national meeting in New York on February 22, 1864. During the summer Vallandigham initiated Jacob Thompson, the Confederate agent in Canada,[19] into the S. of L. and the order began in 1864 its period of greatest revolutionary activity.

High on the secret agenda of the Sons of Liberty was the formation of a Northwest Confederacy. Vallandigham seems to have had some idea that he could wield the balance of power in reconstituting the Union "as it was," or, failing in that, that he could become head of a new nation. Again, only a relatively small portion of the membership had any notion of the revolutionary aims of a few of their leaders.

Midwestern people had long believed that an undue portion of their wealth was siphoned off to New England and that in general they were too much at the mercy of Eastern interests. There was still a feeling common in the area that the primary interests of these states lay with the South because of the river system. Many people—not necessarily Southern sympathizers—concluded that if the country was going to break up anyway it would be a good plan for it to break into several segments, of which a Northwest Confederacy should be one.[20]

The year 1864 was a gloomy one in the North as well as in the South. The long pull and the failure of the Confederacy to collapse after the Union successes of mid-1863 depressed Northern morale. Confederate difficulties were desperate: the Mississippi was opened by Union forces; Sherman controlled or threatened Mississippi and northern Alabama; Grant became Commander-in-Chief of the Union armies in March; Confederate enlistment and drafting had failed; the North stopped exchanging prisoners, an advantage all to the federal side with its greater reservoirs of manpower; Southern re-

[19] Benn Pitman, ed., *The Trials for Treason at Indianapolis* (Cincinnati, 1865), 98; Fesler, "Secret Political Societies," 233-41; Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 166-69.

[20] J. A. Woodburn, "Party Politics in Indiana During the Civil War," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1902* (Washington, 1903), I: 239.

sources were vanishing fast. The times called for desperate remedies.

Early in 1864 President Davis designated Jacob Thompson of Mississippi, C. C. Clay of Alabama, and J. P. Holcombe of Virginia Commissioners to Canada. High among their duties was to be promotion of fifth-column activities in the North.

When the Commissioners reached Canada they shortly got into touch with the Sons of Liberty, who received them cordially and "extended greatest confidence."[21] The Sons of Liberty who interviewed Thompson and his associates represented the order as being essentially military with political purposes, and that the order had its commanders of divisions, brigades, regiments and companies. They said that Lincoln had the power and would certainly re-elect himself, so that there was no hope except in force. They assured the Confederates that "by a bold, vigorous, and concerted movement the great Northwestern States of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio could be seized and held . . . and this in sixty days would end the war."

Jacob Thompson, as recognized head of the commission, had complete authority over Confederate agents and officers reporting to him. He established headquarters in Montreal on May 30, 1864, and opened an account with the bank of Montreal for financing fifth-column work.

Captain Thomas Henry Hines of Kentucky had engineered the escape of John Hunt Morgan from the Ohio State Penitentiary in November, 1863. While traveling toward the Confederacy with General Morgan after their escape he got the idea of an expedition to release rebel prisoners at Camp Douglas and Johnson's Island. The idea developed into a scheme for releasing all Southern prisoners, and in conjunction with the S. of L., creating a general revolution in the North-

[21] Jacob Thompson to J. P. Benjamin, Dec. 3, 1864, *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, XLIII: pt. 2, p. 930.

west. General Morgan got Hines an introduction to President Davis and members of his cabinet. On March 16, Hines received instructions from the War Department "to proceed to Canada through the U. S. . . . collecting any members of . . . Morgan's command . . . in Canada and to employ them in any hostile operation against the United States consistent with neutral obligations in the British Provinces."[22]

Hines was commissioned for the purpose of creating a revolution in the West "and furnished with everything deemed necessary for carrying the plan into operation. The *military government* and command were *exclusively* and *entirely* in my hands, as my commission as Maj. General 'pro tempore' will fully prove."[23]

On June 9, Hines conferred with Vallandigham at Windsor, now Ontario, and on June 11 Jacob Thompson had a long meeting with Vallandigham who assured Thompson that, as Supreme Commander, he could order an uprising of the S. of L. which he said was 300,000 strong. Vallandigham claimed 85,000 members in Illinois, 50,000 in Indiana, and 40,000 in Ohio,[24] and maintained that the rank and file would obey officers placed over them. Vallandigham promised that he would appear publicly in Ohio in a few days and that federal officials would attempt to arrest him. This would be the signal for the Sons of Liberty to rise. Vallandigham appeared suddenly at a Democratic convention in Hamilton, Ohio, and made a speech. His followers escorted him in triumph to Dayton. He made several inflammatory speeches deriding "King Lincoln" and spitting upon General Order No. 38. The officials were wiser than before and left him to his tantrums.

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[22] Hines Papers, notebook on Northwest Conspiracy in Judge Hines' handwriting, 7.

[23] Hines Papers, notes in Judges Hines' handwriting on *Atlantic Monthly* article of July, 1865, p. 108. I have found no other reference anywhere to this "commission as Maj. General 'pro tempore.'" All Confederate official references I have seen call him captain.

[24] T. H. Hines [and J. B. Castleman], "The Northwestern Conspiracy," *Southern Bivouac,* Vol. II (Jan., 1887), 502.

On July 1, 1864, Hines reported to Confederate Secretary of War Seddon that an uprising would begin on July 20, because of urgency to deflect Sherman and cut off his base of supplies at Nashville. There were to be simultaneous attacks to release Confederate prisoners at Chicago and Rock Island, Illinois, Columbus, Ohio, and Indianapolis. Hines himself was to lead the attack at Chicago with 2,000 well-armed men, and able officers of the Confederate Army were to command the forces intended to operate against the other points mentioned.[25] Hines professed the strongest reasons for implicit confidence in the Sons of Liberty.

He had previously written to Seddon that Democrats of every county of Illinois and a portion of Indiana and Ohio would rally to arms,[26] and that Confederates from Canada would join with the Sons of Liberty regiments forming at Chicago and elsewhere. The state governments of Indiana, Ohio and Illinois were to be seized and their executive heads disposed of. Confederate soldiers released from the prison camps would swell their ranks, and within ten days of the start of the movement they hoped to have a force of 50,000 men.

Such high hopes were in for a prompt dampening. The July 20 (or 21) date for the uprising was already a postponement from July 1—a delay caused by the postponement of the Chicago Democratic national convention. The Sons of Liberty seemed to have voracious appetites for Commissioner Thompson's gold supply and never to be quite ready to act. In one of his early meetings with Thompson, Vallandigham piously refused to accept funds for the S. of L. but promptly sent an agent to collect the gift.[27]

The agents who disbursed most Confederate gold were

[25] Hines Papers, preliminary draft of report to Secretary Seddon, in Hines' handwriting, 4.

[26] *Ibid.*, translation of cipher letter to Secretary Seddon, June, 1864, in Hines' handwriting, letter folder for Jan.-June, 1864.

[27] Hines [and Castleman], "Northwestern Conspiracy," 505-6.

James A. Barrett, Grand Commander for Missouri,[28] and John C. Walker of Indianapolis. Barrett disbursed two million dollars in Confederate gold said to have been captured from a Union paymaster and sent to Canada to be used by S. of L. for destruction of United States property and for organizing, arming, and putting into the field of action the Order of Sons of Liberty.[29] John C. Walker, Democratic state agent for Indiana's financial business in New York, was a major general for the S. of L. and a bitter personal enemy of Governor Morton. Many boxes of arms, bought in New York and elsewhere and shipped into the Midwest, were paid for in Confederate gold.

Events in July and August came thick and fast, though not in the manner the conspirators hoped.

The Sons of Liberty officials who were chiefly engineering the proposed uprising, were Vallandigham, Dodd, Doctor William A. Bowles, Major General of S. of L. commanding one of the Indiana districts; Lambdin P. Milligan, Major General of S. of L. commanding another Indiana district; Joshua F. Bullitt, chief justice, Kentucky Court of Appeals, Grand Commander, S. of L. for Kentucky; B. B. Piper, of Springfield, Illinois, Deputy Supreme Commander, S. of L.; James A. Barrett, Grand Commander, S. of L. for Missouri; Amos Green of Illinois, who claimed to be in command of S. of L. for Illinois.

The Sons of Liberty demurred about an uprising on July 20, as they could not get ready. On July 22 several Sons of Liberty met at St. Catherines, Canada, with the Confederate commissioners and Captain Hines and J. B. Castleman. A new date, August 16, was agreed upon for the uprising; but the Sons of Liberty insisted upon a diversionary movement by Confederate troops into Kentucky and Missouri in order to keep the Union forces employed[30]; nor would the S. of L. under-

[28] John B. Castleman, *Active Service* (Louisville, 1917), 135.
[29] Stidger, *Treason History*, 117.
[30] Hines [and Castleman], "Northwestern Conspiracy," 507-8.

take the enterprise without Confederate troop movements.

Amos Green of Illinois stoutly promised to bring or send 1,200 men to Chicago to be commanded by Hines and made off with $12,000 of Jacob Thompson's gold.[31] However, when Hines showed up in Chicago to receive his command "no men arrived from any quarter" and August 29, at the time of the postponed Democratic convention in Chicago, was set. It would be easier to conspire in a crowd, and more plausible for many strangers to be in Chicago at that time.

In the meanwhile, federal authorities were not idle nor unaware of the conspiracy. One of the most successful secret operatives of the war was Felix Grundy Stidger of Kentucky, a former member of the U. S. Army who had entered the service of the provost marshal of the district of Kentucky for the purpose of ferreting out the doings of the Sons of Liberty. By great adroitness and good luck he got himself made Grand Secretary of State of the S. of L. for Kentucky[32] on June 1, 1864, and, as such, was in close contact with Judge Bullitt, Dodd, and the small coterie of conspirators who were planning the summer uprisings. It was Stidger who kept Governor Morton and General Carrington informed about the progress of the conspiracy. This remarkable detective led a most adventurous existence and so succeeded in playing his part that he was never once suspected by the plotters.[33]

On July 30 Judge Bullitt was arrested upon entering Louisville following his return from a trip to confer with other conspirators and Confederate agents. In his satchel was $5,000 in gold and a check for $5,000 from the fiscal agent of the Confederate government. Stidger was with Judge Bullitt at the time of his arrest and had been instructed by the judge to carry certain messages in event of the worthy jurist's arrest.[34]

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[31] Hines Papers, notebook on Northwest conspiracy, 17-18.
[32] Stidger, *Treason History,* 31-35, 54-55, 63-64, 70-71; Indiana Adjutant General, *Report, 1861-65,* Vol. I: 307.
[33] Pitman, *Trials for Treason,* 19n.
[34] Stidger, *Treason History,* 105.

Stidger made his way to Indianapolis and reported to Dodd, from whom he was then able to learn more details of their plans for an August 16 uprising. For Dodd had decided to go ahead on August 16, even though Vallandigham, Thompson, Hines, *et al.*, had concluded to wait until August 29.

Already Stidger had learned of the experiments of Judge Bullitt, Dr. Bowles, and others with Greek fire and time bombs, and had learned from Dr. Bowles that two steamboats at the wharf in Louisville had been burned by these devices.[35] Numerous other acts of sabotage had been carried out in this way. The Confederates were to pay the Sons of Liberty 10 per cent of the value of property so destroyed; the value to be determined by U. S. newspaper accounts.[36]

Dodd tried to get co-operation from responsible Democrats for his proposed insurrection on August 16, but was turned down in horror and made to promise to desist from his scheme.[37] On Saturday evening, August 20, Governor Morton struck.[38] Military authorities raided Dodd's printing establishment at night and seized 135,000 rounds of ammunition and 32 boxes labeled "Sunday School Books" and "Gospel Tracts" containing 400 revolvers.[39] They hauled off the grand seal and rituals and correspondence of the S. of L. The armaments stored on Dodd's premises had been bought by John C. Walker with funds furnished by the Confederate Commissioners—apparently by C. C. Clay.[40]

In a few days the authorities had rounded up Dodd, Bowles, Milligan and several others—most of whom stood trial for treason at Indianapolis the following month. The conviction of Milligan, among others, led to the constitutional

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[35] *Ibid.*, 49-50.

[36] *Ibid.*, Jacob Thompson to J. P. Benjamin, Dec. 3, 1864, *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, XLIII: pt. 2, p. 934-35, tells of making payments.

[37] Pitman, *Trials for Treason*, 101.

[38] *Indianapolis Gazette*, Aug. 22-24, 1864; *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Aug. 22-24, 1864.

[39] Stampp, *Indiana Politics*, 245; Stidger, *Treason History*, 128.

[40] Hines Papers, 1864 folder. A blue slip of paper in Hines' handwriting.

decision by the Supreme Court, *Ex parte Milligan.* Dodd broke jail and skipped to Canada. John C. Walker escaped arrest by a sudden trip to Canada and from Chicago wrote to Indianapolis demanding return of the arms found on Dodd's premises as being Walker's own personal pistols.[41]

Hines and Castleman were cooling their heels and fretting about in the Chicago area, but the arrest of Dodd's conspirators effectively dampened the ardor of the Sons of Liberty in Illinois. Nothing came off on August 29 and Hines and Castleman in their series in the *Southern Bivouac,* 1887, stop there in the story.

In mature years these gentlemen liked to think that they had seen the ineffectiveness of the Sons of Liberty all along and had never placed any real confidence in leaders of the order.[42] Actually, the youthful officers had not given up with the failures of August. There was one more flutter toward insurrection. Jacob Thompson and the other commissioners were still sanguine of success. They considered the prospects for an uprising led by the S. of L. were best for Chicago and New York at the time of the November elections.[43] Accordingly, Captain Hines, Colonel St. Leger Grenfel, the British adventurer, Colonel Vincent Marmaduke, Lieutenant George B. Eastin, and all other available Confederates were sent to Chicago to be commanded by Captain Hines in their efforts to free the prisoners of war at Camp Douglas and Rock Island. The released prisoners were to form a "nucleus upon which the Sons of Liberty were to rally." The Confederates expected Chicago to be the capital of the new Northwest Confederacy. New York City would lead off in forming a Northeast Confederacy of New York, New Jersey, and the New England states; this confederacy would co-operate with the Northwest Confeder-

[41] Stidger, *Treason History,* 128.

[42] Castleman, *Active Service,* 191; Hines Papers, notebook on Northwest conspiracy, 118.

[43] John W. Headley, *Confederate Operations in Canada and New York* (New York and Washington, 1906), 264-65.

acy and the Southern Confederacy. Fernando Wood of New York City and Governor Seymour of New York were expected to help. On election day, November 8, the day proposed for the uprising, Confederate officers were to take command of 20,000 men they had been assured were organized, armed and ready in New York City. These forces were to start fires, capture the sub-treasury and all other government property, and release the prisoners in Fort Lafayette and unite them with the insurrectionary body.

However, Ben Butler arrived in New York with 10,000 troops several days before the election. His idea was to keep order. Order kept. In other cities the conspiracies collapsed and the New York uprising petered out into the firing of nineteen hotels and Barnum's Museum, on November 25, 1864.

In Chicago Colonel Benjamin J. Sweet, commandant at Fort Douglas, proved not to be an idiot. Through divers channels he learned of plans to overpower the Camp Douglas garrison on election night, release and arm the prisoners of war, cut telegraph wires, burn railroad depots, seize banks and ordnance stores, and then release the prisoners at Rock Island and in Indiana.[44] He learned that the Sons of Liberty were spreading rumors that federal troops were to interfere in the coming election and were using those rumors as the excuse for arming their followers. He noticed by November 5 that Chicago was filling up with some very queer characters, and he learned that Confederate officers were in the city. Sweet had only 796 troops to guard 8,352 men confined behind a flimsy board fence. He sent a messenger to Brigadier General John Cook, commander of the District of Illinois, for aid, and on the night of November 6, arrested Colonel Grenfel, Colonel Marmaduke, Brigadier General Charles Walsh of the S. of L., Captain James E. Cantrill of Morgan's command, and Judge Buck-

[44] Report of B. J. Sweet, Nov. 23, 1864, reprinted in Headley, *Confederate Operations,* 284-88.

ner S. Morris, Treasurer of the S. of L. Sweet also nabbed a very large quantity of arms and munitions, including loaded shotguns and revolvers in Walsh's house about 30 rods from Camp Douglas. By the next morning reinforcements had reached Sweet, and a force of 250 mounted troops armed with revolvers captured from the Sons of Liberty patrolled Chicago till November 9. On the night of November 7, the authorities hauled in 106 bushwhackers, guerrillas, and rebel soldiers, including members of the notorious Clingman gang of Fayette and Christian counties, Illinois. A few days more and Sweet caught a young Englishman who acted as runner between Thompson, Hines, Walsh, and Colonel George M. Jessee, the Kentucky guerrilla.

The slippery Captain Hines and a few others got away. Hines hid in box springs with a sick-abed woman on top, and in false walls, and spent a most picaresque few weeks regaining Richmond where he reported to Secretary Seddon on December 15. To the Secretary's query whether the S. of L. could still be useful to the Confederate cause, Hines replied

> that as a secret political organization its efficiency was gone, but that it was possible to use it openly as a military power in the overthrow of the Federal government. . . . [He] refered [*sic*] to the . . . society being entirely in the hands of politicians . . . as a primary cause of its inefficiency.[45]

Toward this abortive attempt at a Northwest uprising Hines had spent $78,777—of which $14,500 went for bringing men from southern Illinois to Chicago, $2,000 for organizing the Irish in Chicago, $3,000 for pistols and carbines, and $5,071 for aiding in their trials the conspirators arrested in November.[46]

Jacob Thompson forlornly wrote to Secretary Benjamin that he had spent large sums in promoting the Sons of Liberty, but that their activities had kept from the front at least 60,000

[45] Hines Papers, notebook, 13.

[46] Hines Papers, a schedule in Hines' handwriting marked "copied." The records of the trial of George St. Leger Grenfel contain a great amount of testimony concerning the November uprising, *House Document 50*, 39 Cong., 2nd Sess., 1-656.

troops who had to maintain order at home. He noted that the presidential election had so demoralized the leaders of the S. of L. that a new organization under new leaders was "an absolute necessity." Of this new "Order of the Star" Thompson had high hopes. But he was being cautious, as he had "so many papers in my possession, which . . . would utterly ruin and destroy very many of the prominent men in the North, that a due sense of my obligations to them will force on me the extremest caution in my movements."[47]

Such was the last of any serious menace from secret political societies in the Northwest.

[47] Jacob Thompson to J. P. Benjamin, Dec. 3, 1864, *War of the Rebellion,* ser. 1, XLIII: pt. 2, 932, 935.

LAND HUNTING IN 1836

EDITED BY JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

ISAAC MILLER WETMORE was one of thousands of men just prosperous enough in the 1830's to seek in the booming West an even more abundant life than upstate New York afforded. A farmer in Whitesboro, and a former miller and merchant, Wetmore was not quite twenty-seven in May, 1836, when he left his wife and baby daughter to journey by team and wagon in search of land in Illinois.[1] Traveling with three companions, one of them possibly an elder brother, Wetmore crossed New York state, passed the growing wheat and blossoming plum trees, through the towns of Oneida, Syracuse, Auburn, Geneva, Canandaigua, Moscow, and Wales. In five days he and his party reached Buffalo, and on May 7 boarded the lake steamer *Daniel Webster* which transported them, team and all, to Toledo. They traversed the Chicago road through southern Michigan a month before Harriet Martineau[2]

[1] The letters in which Wetmore described his journey are in the Henry M. Seymour Library, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. Three letters in the series precede those here cited: I. M. Wetmore to Mrs. Mary L. Wetmore, May 3-5, 1836, postmarked Geneseo, N. Y., May 6; May 6-8, 1836, postmarked "Steam-Boat"; and May 10-17, 1836, postmarked LaPorte, Ind., May 17.

[2] Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (London, 1837), I: 312-49.

Dr. James Harvey Young, associate professor of history at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, is a graduate of Knox College, the establishment of which is referred to in the letters cited in this article. He did his graduate study at the University of Illinois. Editing of the letters was facilitated by a grant from the University Center in Georgia.

was to reach Chicago from Detroit by essentially the same route. Leaving Chicago on May 20, Wetmore and his companions headed southwest, through Ottawa and Princeton, across the rich prairie, to the site of Galesburg in Knox County. There Whitesboro friends, temporarily living in "Log City," a few miles north on the edge of Henderson Grove, already were preparing for the foundation of a town, a church, and a college.[3]

Wetmore was a faithful husband and through all the vicissitudes of travel he sought to keep his wife informed of the adventures that befell him and the prospects for a future home. More adept at land hunting than at spelling and grammar, his letters, nonetheless, reveal much of the conditions of travel, the excitement of migrants, and the social customs of tavern and city along a busy route to the West during one of the biggest boom years in Western development.

Wetmore was to buy land in Rio and Ontario townships in Knox County and in November of the same year was to migrate with his family and build a cabin in the timber at the edge of the prairie.[4] Wetmore prospered in his new location, and his economic roles were several. He increased his initial land holdings, and owned more than five hundred acres at his death. He also acted as a land agent, buying and reselling to others. Wetmore's grain farming must have been extensive—in 1850 he bought a reaper. He also raised livestock, including blooded cattle, hogs, and horses. And he resumed the career of his young manhood—he became a general merchant

[3] Earnest Elmo Calkins, *They Broke the Prairie*, (New York, 1937), 62, 76-77.

[4] Material in the remaining introductory paragraphs is drawn from several sources. One was a study written by Roberta Tupper for the Department of History, Knox College, in 1944, entitled "Isaac M. Wetmore, Pioneer." Miss Tupper used business papers of Wetmore and a typescript copy of "J. E. Wetmore, A Diary of a Trip from Yorkville, New York, down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans and back to Dunkirk, New York, October 24, 1836, to May 20, 1837," in the Knox College Library. (It seems probable that there was a typing error and J. E. Wetmore was Jesse Coe Wetmore, an elder brother of I. M. Wetmore.) Also used were Albert J. Perry, *History of Knox County, Illinois: Its Cities, Towns and People* (Chicago, 1912), I: 427; Chas. C. Chapman & Co., *History of Knox County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1878), 405, 515, 715; and a letter from Mrs. Winn Wikoff (granddaughter of I. M. Wetmore) to the writer, Jan. 8, 1946.

who sold at his store in Rio township large quantities of fabrics, clothing, groceries, drugs, and miscellaneous articles purchased from firms in Peoria, Galesburg, Chicago, and New York.

Wetmore was a substantial citizen of his rural community. He was moderator of the meeting in 1853 at which the township government of Ontario was organized. A deacon in the Ontario Baptist Church, he was an ardent abolitionist, and his home was a station on the underground railroad. He took great interest in the development of Knox College. He was the father of eight children, one of whom was killed in the Civil War. Wetmore outlived both his first wife, who died in 1867, and his second, whom he married two years later. He died at Ontario in May, 1881, forty-five years after the land-hunting journey chronicled in the letters which follow.

In editing these letters several brief omissions are indicated, the omitted material relating for the most part to the activities of members of the Wetmore family and their friends. The text of the letters is reproduced as written, except that capitals have been supplied at the beginning of sentences and a minimum of punctuation has been added. The spelling is unchanged—with prairie appearing as porary, prary, priary, and prorary, for example.

I.

[Postmarked Ottawa, Illinois, May 25.]

Chicago May 19th 1836

Dear Wiffe

We are at chicago. We arived at this far famed city yesterday about 11 O. C. . . . [from Michigan City] pasing up the foot of the Lake we found about 10 Miles from that a quanty of stakes around in the oak barrons and swails as thay are here called No as high as several Hundred and we could not so mutch as find the name of the place untill we had road some 6 to 8 Miles. The drerest desart of sand that you ever thought of even reding the history of Arabia des-

arts. Ther was one house neere the city as it is called but with out an in habitant and inscribed on the dore goun to *hell*. Some of the company thought that thay must have goun to a better place. Where we staid over night was a little log cabben as they are called a desant all in one room.

The nex day Tuesday [May 17] we drove on the beach through the day. It was very hard travling for the horses all the way but we all went on foot but one which drove. The Lake is as hamsom body of water as I ever saw. The beach is almost an intire sand bank. Some of the way it is white again yellow Read &c again the hansomist paper [?] sand that I ever saw. This night we staid at the City of Caulmet. It hase 3 Logg cabbins and 3 framed house & Blacksmith shed. The Land Lord is a son of old Spenser at the Factory. He keeps a good house considring. At evening we went out a fishing and [caught] a fine mess 1 Pickerell that would weigh 10 lb or More. We had him for Breckfast. This is 12 Miles from Chicago. Coe, Main & Myself walked up the beach and all the way my minde was at home immaging what you could bee about and how got a long. I was in hopes to finde a Letter here which would in a measure satisfide me but there was none.

The city is cituated on a loe wet pice of ground which I should think would flow over intirely in a wet time for the water stands within 8 to 10 in from the top of the ground now. It is a verry dry time. As for the sise it is hard to discribe for we have no such citys in our part of the country. Thare is but three or four sutch buildings as thare is in utica but a large No of small 1 story buildings and log huts. It covers over ½ as mutch ground as utica but not thick, no cide walk, the streets not worked in the least for where thay were cut up in the spring thay still remain frough as ever. They have the city survaid for 3 Miles round and are selling the lots verry high. Thay can have no sellars at all. From the city west thare is a low wet marsh for 9 Miles which reaches a round them from Lake to Lake so that they can have no communication with the country without crosing it up to the hubs of the waggon all of the way.

We are 27 Miles from the city west on our road to Otiway. The place we are at has no name as yet though it is a fine porary as you ever thought of for at this time thea

are all coverd with flours which make them look verry butifull. I think of you when picking a verry fine nose gay how you would like to see it and it is so fragrent to weare. At a old vermonters who come on here last spring. He has a fine farm and is a dooing well. From there we drove to Kings from the N. Y. Mills. He has a 2 clames here he considers good. Thay are worth some 1 Thousand dollars at least. He sold out one clame for $200. Thay are all well and like this cuntry mutch. He is offard 3 Dollars pr day to work at his traid but thinks that he can do better a farming it. Produse is high of all cinds here. Saturday [May 18] we drove to Ottaway 35 Miles over the hamsomist porary that I ever saw.

Sunday. This Morning I attended church here. Herd a pesbeterian Minister preach. He spoke verry well. This after noon I went a cross the river to the post office to see if thare was no Letter from you . . . . This place is cituated on three places at the forks of the Fox and Illinois. In the hull there is about 50 houses huts and all. There is 2 Men just arived from Detroit sais that thay saw Mr. West an Elixabeth and faily thare last Monday.[5] They ware well and comind on. Thay wont guit there under 2 weeks from date. . . . We put at the first house here and found the poorist accomidations since we started from home and pay the highest. The rest are at supper and as thare is a croud I shall Loose Mine.

YOUR AFFECTIONATE I M WETMORE.

. . . Direct a Letter to me at Knoxvill, Knox Co., Illinois, care of West. He will send it to me.

I M W

II.

[INSCRIBED "KNOX C. H. ILLS. JUNE 5"]

GALES.VILLE MAY 26TH 1836

DEAR WIFE.

We are pleasently situated at a Mr Roundtrees. He is a Kentuckian but a verry fine Man. You will reculect that

[5] Nehemiah West is described by Calkins as "the factotum of the whole colonization scheme." He had been a member of the committee which, in 1835, had come to Illinois to select the site for Galesburg and Knox College, and when Wetmore wrote this letter West was on his way with the first wagon train of migrants "to get things ready, welcome and bestow the later arrivals and set up the machinery of living." Calkins, *They Broke the Prairie*, 49-50, 74.

I finished the last Letter of mine in rather of a haste. The reason was obvious we ware in a hurry to leave the place where we ware staing. It was at the first house in Otaway and thare vituales a verry hungry purson could eat but no other. There beads [beds] must of been good for thay had been tried untill the pillow cases ware as black as my shew. The clothing was one sheet and an old raggid quilt and the same holes in the bead that ware maid som 6 weeks since. Anough—I went from Otaway Sunday Evening [May 22] as far as Calvin Ells [?]. Thay are well. . . .

Monday Morning we went to Henipinn 12 Miles, from thare to prinston 8 Miles and found the Doolittles. They & fanilies are well & sends love to all enquiring friends. Tuesday we drove west over an almost an intire prary for the distance of 35 Miles. In the afternoon we saw a man coming to wards [us] on Horse Back uppon a full run. We stoped. He rode up out of breath asked us whitch way we ware a gowing &c said that he had been lost and had been riding since morning as hard as he could. Though whend he found us he was not more then 6 Miles from where he started. He said that when he discoverd our teem it gave him more pleasure then it would to of found 50 Dollars. He was from Boston. We staid at a fine Old pensyltuckians, had good accomidations. His farme I should like to have, or one like it for it was nice.

Wednesday we drove a cross a prary for 12 Miles almost with out a House. From thare to this place 24 Miles a cross an intire prary without a single House. The prary was nice as I ever saw, roling with small reveins in evry hollow which makets it fine for water. You have but a faind eyedeca of the prrary heere. Thay are a purfect flour bead of the choisest seclections that I ever saw in the most purfect gardins in our state. Thare buty is not to be discribed. Thare is Deer, Sand Crain, Porary Wolf, Grouse &c &c &c to divert the eye and Mind as he is wandring through the extensive floure beds of the west. This evening I staid with Mr Ferris & Mr Gale.[6] Thay are well and guitting in some corn to live on next year.

Thursday [May 26]. We tok a walk on the colony purchace this morning. It is a good porary take it to gether

[6] George Washington Gale "furnished the idea" and Silvanus Ferris "the business head" for the Galesburg colonization enterprise. Calkins, *They Broke the Prairie*, 74. For a sketch of Gale, see *Dictionary of American Biography*.

with some inconveniences. . . : Theay expect Mr West in corse of a week. The Logg cabin which he is to ocopy is empty. I have been over it to day. It is what they call to-story that is to small rooms on the ground. Thay expect other famileys so that he wil not have but one story. The Hushers [Hoosiers] & Suckers are cituated on both sides of the grove [and] all through the State as far as I can assertain at preasent. We have not found any Land that suits yet but are in hopes that we shall yet for we are in good crrage [courage].

The weather is fine. The natts are troublesome towards evening here. Here we have fine lettice. Thay say that thay have had it for a week. It is good. Corn is Nee high in the garding. Som of them are plowing it out in the field. Crops look well in this part of the cuntry except wheat that is mostly winter killed. What is left looks well. Produse is high on account of the great nombers of persons that are emigrating west & north. Here thay sell thare Wheet for 8/ — corn 4/ — oats 4/ — &c.[7]

Friday [May 27] we went To Knoxvill. It is a purty little place for this cuntry. Thare is some 6 or 8 framed houses and as many Log Hutts, 3 Stores, 1 Blacksmithshop, 1 tavern &c. Land about the village is valued from $10 to $20 pr acre. It is good. I should like a farm here. We shall not be able to find government land here I think though Coe has gown to the Land office at Quincy and St George has gon to Galena to see what thare is unsold in this section.

Saturday we went to the yellow Banks [Oquawka] on the Mississippi. She is the fines stream of water that I ever saw. Jest after we arived thare the Steamer O colnel through in site. Thay have a good Naturel Landing thar. St George took pasage to Galena. In the corse of the Night Coe took

[7] In using this diagonal symbol Wetmore must have had the shilling in mind—at a value of 12½ cents. Thus wheat would have been $1.00 a bushel, and corn and oats 50 cents. During this period Spanish silver coins were in wide use in New York state, the Spanish real, worth 12½ cents, being termed "shilling" in popular speech. The same coin with the same value in the Mississippi Valley was referred to as a "bit." Charles A. White, "The Archaic Monetary Terms of the United States," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1908), L: 100-102; Horace White, *Money and Banking Illustrated by American History* (Boston, 1896), 34-35. Although agricultural prices might vary considerably from place to place, they were indeed high in the Midwest when Wetmore made his journey. Wholesale prices at Cincinnati were at the peak of a thirteen-year cycle in March, 1836. Arthur H. Cole, *Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States, 1700-1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 98, 111.

passhege down to Quincy. Thay have in this place but three framed buildings, 2 dwelling Housis, 1 Store & 2 Cabbins and the oner of the 80 Acres has sold one ¼ of the same for $150.00 without any improvements on it whatever. It was in the age of evening when we got thare and thare was no tavern or any place that we could [stay]. After begging for a long time we got our horses in a stable and went down the river ½ Mile or more & found a Log Cabbin that we staid at over night.

In the morning Sunday we came back to our old bording place Mr Roundtrees. Thay had preaching near thare to day by the Baptist. Thare is quite a number of that purswasion in this place but not like Home. Before I left I spoke of sending you a paper every fieu days but I have not sent any since I started for since I left Newyork thay are the scarsist thing that I have found. Thar is not scarsly any taken and those that do keep them to read as you would a book. . . . The little Boys just came in with sum Strawberries. Thay are the first that I have seen. Pees are amost large a nough for eating. We have had goosberris stewd for tea 2 or 3 days since. Mails gow verry eregular here.

Your Husband ever I M Wetmore.

Tuesday [May 31]. I am at KnoxVill making inquiry consirning land and think by what I can assertain that we shal gow to Henry & Merser Co to examin. Thare is a considerable land thare that is not entered. We may find a smart chance thare, as thay express it but we cannot tell. We look for our selves for thare is nodependance to be placed on any here for every one is for speculation.

March [May] 31th 1836— . . . We have no bread in this cuntry scarsly ever. Thay use the dodger cakes instead. Thay are Made of corne meal and baked in a tin oven or bake kittle wet up with watter. We have no potatoes thay never use them hardly. Thare mode of living is in tirely different from ours for a Meal generly consists of Coffee, Dodger Cakes & Baken, milk, & Honey if you like. Monday Morning [June 6 ?]. . . . Now I would buy me an improved farme here if I was able, and gow to *work*.

III.

[Inscribed "Knox C. H. Ills."]

HusherVill 12 North 1 East June 15th 1836

Dea Wife

As I have a little leasure this morning on the account of Miller having goun to Galena yesterday for the purtose of entring Land for himself Coe & me—in 13 North 2 East. I sent with others to Galena and entred ¼ Section in the same township. I expect he will enter ½ Section more for me besides what he enters for himself and Coe. Tomoro we shall have a surveyor and run out our land that we have purshaste. . . . The rest of the Boys are at the table a making Maps of the tounship and consantly enquiring about the business and the lots which keeps my mind all the time in commotion for I have not rote a line hardly with out stoping and talking about the mapps.

The Land is as hansom roling porary as any one ever need see with the head of the Henderson River rising in the same tract which makes it finely waterd and as healthy as any part of the Unitedstates, for thare is no swamps no ponds nor any thing which would be the caus of any provaling sickness in these parts, and the family that we board with has never had a fasition [physician] but two or thre time since thay lived here which is 6 years and the Lady of the house when we came here had a child which was but 2 Weeks old and she was a doing all the work with the help of her 2 Little girls 1—8 and the other 10 years of age. Thay also do all the washing & Milking. Thay have 6 Cows.

I am at Mr Wests. . . . Thay are verry well pleased with thare place. But thare things have not come yet. Thay have to sleep on the flore on straw beads without pillors except straw in the bundle. . . .

We have just returned from a ramble over the Colledge Ground and the village of Gales boro. It is a verry pleasant place, though it is situated on the most roling of thare prorary. The ridge for thair collage is filled with a den of wolfs at presant. What it hereafter may be filled with I cannot tell. I hope not in sheeps clothing. . . . Our team is in good condition. We shall probly return as far as the Lake with them before we sell. I think that we shall be able to

guit as mutch as thay cost us at Least. Elizabeth [West] has not yet got a School but hopes to soon as thay guit through the hurry of the work so that thay can put up a School House for her for thare is Children a plenty for a School. . . . My health is good. Tell Olive Father will soon bee home.

YOUR HUSBAND &C. I. M. WETMORE

IV.

[INSCRIBED "POLITENESS OF GEO ST GEORGE"]

CICAPOO[8] JUNE 21TH 1836

DEAR WIFE

On the account of the Sickness of Coe & George & Others we have not been able to accomplish our business as soon as I expected but we have purchased som Land in 13 N. 1 & 2 East to the amount of 8 or 10 Sections on the Porary and I expect by gowing to Quinsy we shall bee able to guit timber neer by. Thare fore Coe, Miller & Myself conclude to stay and gow down thare before we return which will probly take 8 or 10 Days longer then we should.

St George, Mains & Park start for home to day. Thay will carry this to you and tell you all the sicomstanses about it. We have bought the Teem of them here. After gowing to quinsey with it we shall eather sell thare or return up towards Detroyt and thare dispose of them. . . . Though we have not got through we have done better then many others for I have seen many that have looked as long or longer then we have and has not as yet found any that thay could guit that suited. . . .

Last sunday I attended a Methodest quartaly Meeting at Henderson Vill neer here. We had three sarmons. Thay ware verry good though thay ware not great sarmonisers. Thare ware two children Baptised.—But I must gow.

Wednesday [June] 22th Morning. After wrighting yesterday thay concluded to gow and tak another Look at the Land that we had purchased before starting. Tharefore thay hurried me of without finishing this, but thay start this morning and we start south. We had new Potatoes last Sun-

[8] Kickapoo was a settlement near Peoria on the road from Knoxville. From the context of the letter, however, Wetmore would seem to have been writing from the site of Galesburg.

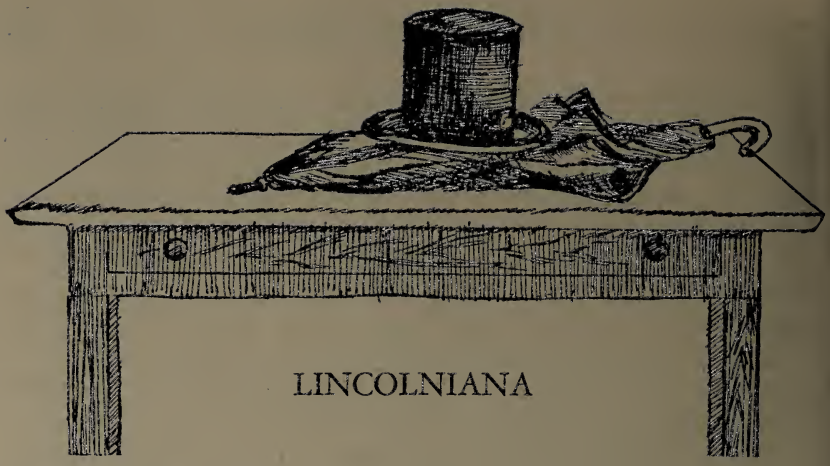
day for supper 19th, also green peas. It is rather erlier then farmers comily [commonly] have them in our state I believe. Mrs West & family are well. Elizabeth appears cheerfull an contented as yet, though the old woman sais it is a hard place for Gals & Oxen.

Miller returned here on Sunday [from Galena] but the rase he had with [Silvanus] Ferris is a causion, as thay express it here, for thay both wanted the same land. Miller got about 1 hour the start but soposed that Ferris [MS torn]. He rode about 150 Miles the first day and [MS torn] for the Night. About 3 O. C. in the morning Ferris came in whar he was, had slept out in the prorary on his saddle what he had slept. Miller had a long talk with him though he [Ferris] did not kow [know] him but Miller new Ferris. The man of the hous got up and made a fire & got him sonthing to eat. He started on after Millers direction. As soon as he had left Miller got up and started on other road and got thare and enterd what land he wanted and started for home before he [Ferris] got thare.

It is hard to keep my minde on religion when a purson is a travling and in such a variety of company though I always think on the stated time we set as mutch as posible. Thay are about starting.

In haste your ever affetionate Husband

I M Wetmore



LINCOLNIANA

ONLY KNOWN PHOTOGRAPH OF LINCOLN IN HIS COFFIN

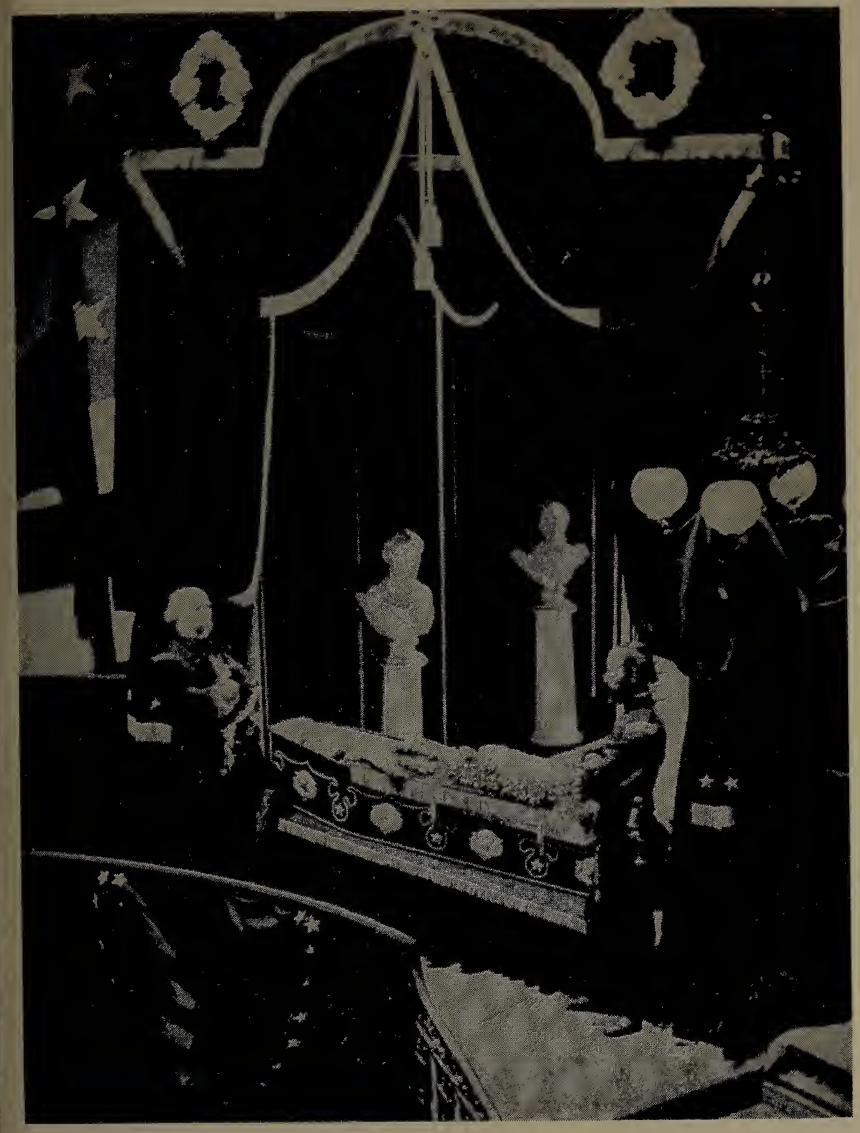
New letters and legal papers in the handwriting of Abraham Lincoln come to light with regularity but the publication of a new photograph is an event of singular importance. On the next page is the only known photograph of Lincoln in his coffin. It was brought to my attention recently by a young Lincoln collector, Ronald Rietveld, who was looking through the Nicolay and Hay papers in the Illinois State Historical Library.

The history of this photograph has been pieced together and there is little doubt that it is the one that disappeared into the private file of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton eighty-seven years ago.[1]

When the Lincoln funeral procession arrived at New York's City Hall at 11:30 A. M. on April 24, 1865, the interior of the Hall was completely veiled in crepe. The coffin was carried up the steps to the catafalque which had been erected opposite the principal entrance to the Governor's Room. The embalmer opened the casket and put everything in order for the photographer. Mrs. Charles E. Strong of New York, escorted by General Ambrose E. Burnside, came forward and placed on the coffin flowers arranged in the form of a shield, twenty-four inches long by eighteen inches wide. Master George W. I. Wellington Bishop in the uniform of the Junior New York Cadets placed on the coffin white immortelles arranged in the initials "A. L."

Jeremiah Gurney, Jr. of Gurney & Son, leading New York photographers at 707 Broadway, had been granted the exclusive right to take pictures of the catafalque. Assistant Adjutant General Edward D. Townsend, in charge

[1] Data for this article was taken from letters and telegrams of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and Generals John A. Dix, Edward D. Townsend, and John J. Peck in *War of the Rebellion,* ser. 1, XLVI, pt. 3; the *New York Times,* April 25, 1865; "Is This Lincoln?" in *Saturday Evening Post,* Feb. 15, 1941; Lewis H. Stanton to John G. Nicolay, Morris, Minn., Jan. 17, 1887.



THE "LOST" LINCOLN PHOTOGRAPH

Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton ordered the plate and all prints of this picture destroyed but neglected to do away with his own copy. When it was discovered recently in the Nicolay and Hay Papers in the Illinois State Historical Library it became the only known picture of Lincoln in his coffin. It was taken on April 24, 1865, in New York's City Hall by Jeremiah Gurney, Jr., of Gurney & Son, photographers, 707 Broadway.

of the funeral train, gave the following details in a telegram to Secretary Stanton:

The remains had just been arranged in state in the City Hall, at the head of the stairway, where the people would ascend on one side and descend on the other. The body lay in an alcove, draped in black, and just at the edge of a rotunda formed of American flags and mourning drapery. The photographer was in a gallery twenty feet higher than the body, and at least forty distant from it. Admiral [Charles H.] Davis stood at the head and I at the foot of the coffin. No one else was in view. The effect of the picture would be general, taking in the whole scene, but not giving the features of the corpse.

General Townsend here describes only one picture but two were taken and the larger one probably included Admiral Davis and General Townsend, General John A. Dix and the following officers assigned to the first watch of two hours: Major General David Hunter, United States Volunteers; Major General John J. Peck, United States Volunteers; Rear Admiral Hiram Paulding, United States Navy; Brevet Major General Stewart Van Vliet, United States Army; Colonel D. T. Van Buren, United States Army, Colonel H. F. Clarke, United States Army; Brevet Lieutenant Colonel R. F. O'Beirne, United States Army.

The photographer consumed more than a half hour while 20,000 people waited outside. When the City Hall doors were closed at noon the next day, an estimated 120,000 people had reverently passed the coffin. The *New York Times* reporter thus described Lincoln's appearance:

The color is leaden, almost brown; the forehead recedes sharp and clearly marked; the eyes deep sunk and close held upon the socket; the cheek bones, always high, are unusually prominent; the cheeks hollowed and deep pitted; the unnaturally thin lips shut tight and firm as if glued together, and the small chin, covered with slight beard, seemed pointed and sharp. The body is dressed in black, the white turned-over collar and the clear white gloves making a strong contrast to the black neckcloth and the leaden-hued features.

New York photographers were furious at General Dix for granting Gurney & Son exclusive privileges. But their anger was slight beside that of a man, prone to outbursts, Secretary of War Stanton, when he read the paragraph about the photographer. He telegraphed to General Townsend:

I see by the New York papers this evening that a photograph of the corpse of President Lincoln was allowed to be taken yesterday in New York. I cannot sufficiently express my surprise and disapproval of such an act while the body was in your charge. You will report what officers of the funeral escort were or ought to have been on duty at the time this was done, and immediately relieve them and order them to Washington. You will also

direct the provost-marshal to go to the photographer, seize and destroy the plates and any pictures or engravings that may have been made, and consider yourself responsible if the offense is repeated.

Stanton ordered the telegram despatched from Washington at 11:40 P. M. on April 25, to be delivered immediately. Townsend had left New York at 4:15 in the afternoon of April 25. The next morning at 9:30 he had not received the orders when he wired Stanton that the funeral party had arrived in Albany and that "words cannot describe the grandeur of the demonstration in New York and all along the Hudson River. The outpouring of popular feeling, quiet and unaffected, is truly sublime." Then Stanton's telegram arrived and Townsend was shocked, but took the blame, if blame there was, in an immediate reply:

The photograph was taken while I was present, Admiral Davis being the officer immediately in charge, but it would have been my part to stop the proceedings. I regret your disapproval, but it did not strike me as objectionable under the circumstances as it was done. I have telegraphed General Dix your orders about seizing the plates. To whom shall I turn over the special charge given me in order to execute your instructions to relieve the officer responsible, and shall Admiral Davis be relieved? He was not accountable.

Stanton replied at once absolving Admiral Davis and ordered Townsend to continue with the funeral train because there was no one to replace him. Stanton revealed that his original instructions to Townsend had not covered the taking of photographs, when he noted that in Washington photographers had been excluded at the request of Mrs. Lincoln and "I am apprehensive that her feelings and the feelings of her family will be greatly wounded."

Townsend replied in two telegrams, suggesting that "the picture would be gratifying, a grand view of what thousands saw and thousands could not see."

Stanton's order to seize and destroy the plates and prints was relayed to Major General John J. Peck, in command at New York in the absence of General Dix. He seized the plates and prints and wired Stanton of his action in these words:

A dispatch from General Townsend advises of your condemnation of the taking of a photograph of the President's remains, and orders the destruction of the plates, pictures, and engravings. The plates include the pictures of General Townsend and Admiral Davis. They are in my hands awaiting your pleasure, as by second telegram. The permit was not given by me.

Meantime Gurney had developed the two plates and found he had

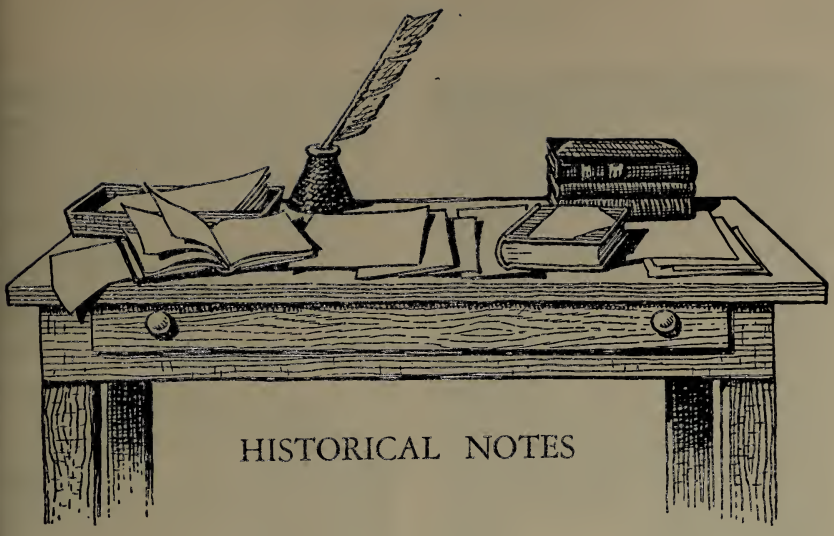
excellent pictures. When his plates and prints were seized, Gurney appealed for help to his friends, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and *New York Times* publisher Henry J. Raymond, who telegraphed Stanton to withhold the order of destruction until Gurney could present the facts in the case. Gurney & Son appealed to Charles A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War. These appeals brought a stay order on the destruction and placed the plates and prints in the keeping of General Dix until further orders. General Dix, Commander of the Department of the East, telegraphed Stanton on April 29 from New York that a single print had been made of each plate, and that he had destroyed the larger plate and its print, "The smaller plate I have under lock and key and I enclose herewith the proof taken from it." The picture on page 253 is taken from this proof now in the Illinois State Historical Library. General Dix added that "Mr. Gurney is very desirous that the plate should be preserved, and thinks Mr. Lincoln's family, when they see the proof, will be willing to have it returned to him."

Stanton took the proof to Robert Lincoln who probably consulted with his mother before asking that the glass plate be destroyed. On May 1, 1865, Stanton wired General Dix, "You will therefore destroy the plate as heretofore directed and any copies that may be printed as heretofore ordered." After issuing the order Stanton carefully put away in his private file the sole remaining proof. There it was found by his son Lewis H. Stanton who sent it to Lincoln's private secretary, John G. Nicolay on January 17, 1887. Nicolay and Hay did not use it in their ten-volume life of Lincoln.

H. E. P.

NEW LINCOLN BOOK FOR CHILDREN

Abraham Lincoln Coloring Book (Lincoln House, 723 East Adams Street, Springfield, Illinois, $1.00) is a new child's book with seventeen pages of drawings to be colored. The pages are eleven by fourteen inches in size, and the text opposite each drawing is short and the words are understandable to a fifth-grade pupil. Four pages of photographs make up the center of the book. An excellent quality of paper has been used and the format is one that appeals to the eye.



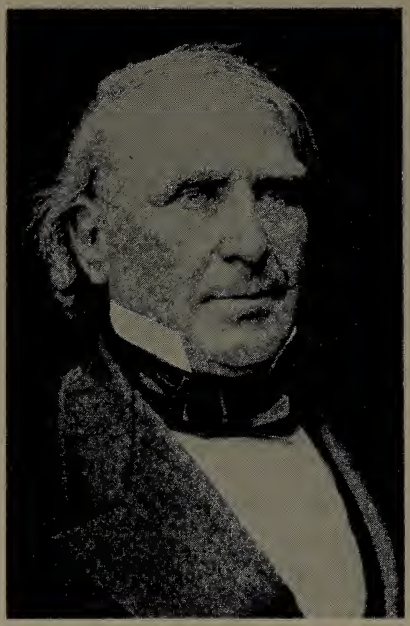
HISTORICAL NOTES

GRANT'S LETTERS TO ELIHU B. WASHBURNE

Fifty-eight letters from Ulysses S. Grant to his good friend Elihu B. Washburne of Galena—fifty-four in Grant's handwriting and the other four signed by him—have recently been acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. Along with these the Library obtained a dozen papers in Grant's handwriting including a two-page telegram to Abraham Lincoln and others to General Henry W. Halleck and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. The manuscripts vary in length from single-page telegrams to eight-page letters and total 204 pages in Grant's handwriting.

Grant and Washburne met at the beginning of the Civil War when the former, then a clerk in his father's leather goods store, was drilling a company of recruits in Galena and the latter was home from Washington between sessions of Congress where he served as an Illinois representative from 1853 to 1869. Their friendship lasted from 1861 until 1880. During the Civil War, Washburne became Grant's stanchest defender when waves of criticism swept over Congress. Washburne was not alone in his defense, however, because he was a member of an unusual family which had three brothers serving in Congress at the same time—Cadwallader C. Washburn was a representative from Wisconsin, and Israel represented Maine. (Elihu was the only member of the family to add the final "e" to the name though Grant left it off.) Cadwallader Washburn was invited by Grant to join his staff, and later he became a general and governor of Wisconsin.

The fifty-eight letters to Washburne are well distributed over the nearly twenty years of their friendship: nineteen were written during the War,



ELIHU B. WASHBURNE

ULYSSES S. GRANT

eight in the period between the end of the war and Grant's election to the presidency, seventeen during his two terms in the White House, ten while he was on his famous world tour of more than two years, and the last four followed the tour.

The close association of the two men is shown by the fact that Grant received news of his election in 1868 by telegraph on an instrument set up in the library of Washburne's home in Galena where he was spending the evening. Their friendship ended abruptly in 1880 when both sought the Republican nomination for president, and each blamed the other for his failure to get it. Although Grant lived five more years, and Washburne seven, there was no more correspondence between them.

In his first letter, written from Cairo, Illinois, September 3, 1861, Grant said he had been kept actively moving from one command to another, more so perhaps than any other officer: "So long as I am of service to the cause of our country I do not object however." Concluding this letter he wrote: "Mr. Washburn allow me to thank you for the part you have taken in giving me my present position."

Fort Donelson was Grant's second major victory and his demand of

"unconditional surrender" gave him a new nickname. He wrote to Washburne on February 21, 1862 about the engagement:

On the 13th 14th & 15th our volunteers fought a battle that would figure well with many of those fought in Europe where large standing armies are maintained. I feel very grateful to you for having placed me in the position to have had the honor of commanding such an army and at such a time. I only trust that I have not nor will not disappoint you.

Criticism of Grant in the weeks after the battle of Fort Donelson was general in the press. He was accused of returning runaway slaves, and of going to Nashville without orders from General Halleck, and it was said that credit for planning the campaign belonged to others. Writing to Washburne from Savannah, Tennessee, March 22, 1862, he made this significant statement:

So long as I hold a Commission in the Army I have no views of my own to carry out. Whatever may be the orders of my superiors, and law, I will execute. No man can be efficient as a commander who sets his own notions above law and those whom he is sworn to obey. When Congress enacts anything to [*sic*] odious for me to execute I will resign.

Grant straightened out his difficulty with Halleck when it was learned that he had received none of Halleck's communications nor had the latter received any of Grant's daily communications. After the battle of Pittsburg Landing, April 6-7, 1862, with its great losses, criticism became more virulent. Grant refused any public comment but wrote to Washburne from his camp near Corinth, May 14, that "I would scorn being my own defender." He admitted he was distressed by the attacks because of his family and because of its effect upon those under his command. To have given up the field at Pittsburg Landing he said, "would have set this war back six months."

However, all the criticism was not leveled at Grant. Halleck received his share when he made a slow entrenched advance on Corinth and found the city empty when he arrived. Grant wrote Washburne on June 1: "There will be much unjust criticism of this affair but future effects will prove it a great victory."

Grant shared Lincoln's good opinion of Halleck in 1862. He commented to Washburne in a letter from Corinth on July 22:

I do not know the object of calling Gen. H. to Washington but if it is to make him Sec. of War, or Commander-in-Chief, Head Quarters at Washington, a better selection could not be made. He is a man of gigantic intellect and well studied in the profession of arms. He and I have had several little spats but I like and respect him nevertheless.

On March 10, 1863 as Grant's interest centered on Vicksburg, he wrote

Washburne that General "McPherson is one of my best men and is fully to be trusted. Sherman stands in the same catigory. In these two men I have a host. They are worth more than a full Brigade each."

For a man not given to excitement the rapid prose of Grant's letter to Washburne after his victory at Chattanooga is unusual. On December 2, 1863 he wrote:

> The specticle was grand beyond anything that has been, or is likely to be, on this Continent. It is the first battle field I have ever seen where a plan could be followed and from one place the whole field be within our view. At the commencement the battle line was fifteen miles long. Hooker on our right soon carried the point of Lookout Mountain, and Sherman the North end of Missionary ridge thus shortening the line by five or six miles and bringing the whole within our view. Our troops behaved most magnificently and have inflicted on the enemy the heavyest blow they have received during the war.

On July 19, 1864 Grant telegraphed to President Lincoln suggesting a draft call for 300,000 men because the "enemy now have their last man in the field. Every depletion of their Army is an irreparable loss. Disertions from it are now rapid." Lincoln issued a call for 500,000 men the day before Grant's telegram, thus both men were sizing up the situation in much the same way. A month later—August 16—Grant rephrased it in these words in a letter to Washburne: "The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, railroad bridges and forming a good part of their garrisons for intrenched positions . . . . they are now losing from desertion and other causes at least one regiment per day."

In a friendly letter to Washburne on February 7, 1865, Grant appears hopeful of the war's nearing a close: "Everything looks like dissolution in the South. A few days more of success with Sherman will put us where we can crow loud."

After the war Grant's letters were written from Washington and Long Branch, New Jersey, where he went in the summer. His disgust with President Johnson's views on Reconstruction is abundantly clear in this line on March 4, 1867: "Reconstruction measures have passed both houses of Congress over one of the most ridiculous veto messages that ever eminated from any President."

Upon his inauguration as President Grant appointed Washburne as Secretary of State. A week later he resigned to become minister to France. Historians have assigned various reasons for Washburne's action. Grant's letter accepting the resignation says he did so "with regret that your health will not permit you to continue." He expressed his great appreciation for

Washburne's advice and support since the opening of the Civil War.

Grant was no different from any other President when he wrote on January 28, 1870 that, "My peace is when Congress is not in session." He looked forward to the end of his term, because it had been the "desire of my life to visit Europe, and particularly France."

Horse flesh was one subject upon which Grant considered himself an authority. On August 23, 1875 he gave Washburne a fine report on Butcher Boy, who even at eighteen was "as good as ever." Another horse, "Old Bucephelus has killed off all my old stock of carriage horses . . . he has got now to be dangerous to drive single, and double or four in hand, he requires an extra severe bit to manage."

Under the title *General Grant's Letters to a Friend, 1861-1880,* fifty of these fifty-eight letters to Elihu B. Washburne were published in book form in 1897. In this small volume, however, the letters are abbreviated, nor do they appear in their entirety in any of the other publications on Grant.

MRS. LINCOLN WRITES TO AUTHOR HALLIDAY

The Illinois State Historical Library has acquired a letter of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln's that raises several queries. Addressed to S. B. Halliday it is given here complete:

SPRINGFIELD DEC 31, [1860]

MR S. B. HALLIDAY

DEAR SIR:

Allow me to return my acknowledgments, for the handsome books, you sent me, which were received on yesterday. The volume Mr Lincoln brought home with him last spring, I read with much interest, also some of my friends. My Husband retains a lively recollection, of his visit to the Ins[ti]tution, whilst in New York, also of your polite attention to him. I shall always prize, the works you sent me, and wish you much success, in so benevolent a cause.

I remain very resp

MRS. A. LINCOLN.

Abraham Lincoln delivered his Cooper Union address in New York on Monday, February 27, 1860. Then followed two weeks in New England where he made eleven speeches, and visited his son Robert at Phillips Exeter Academy at Exeter, New Hampshire. Returning to New York he went to

Plymouth Church in Brooklyn to hear Henry Ward Beecher on Sunday, March 11. Hiram Barney later took Lincoln to the House of Industry at Five Points where he spoke to the children. It was here that he probably met the Rev. Samuel Bryam Halliday and was presented with a copy of Halliday's new book, *The Lost and Found; or Life Among the Poor,* the preface of which is dated September, 1859, and which had probably just come from the press.

This book which Mrs. Lincoln "read with much interest," consists of short stories of boys and girls abandoned or otherwise abused by their parents. The stories carry such titles as: "Tattered Maggie," "The Little Street Sweeper," and "The Stone Cutter's Children." They were based on the Rev. Mr. Halliday's experiences as a home missionary of the American Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless, and are like the first chapter of a Horatio Alger book. Mrs. Lincoln doubtless read the stories to nine-year-old Willie and six-year-old Tad.

The last chapters of *The Lost and Found* are on housing, intemperance, pauperism, vice and crime. Successful as a medium for shocking people into giving money to charity, the book was reprinted in 1861 under the title *The Little Street Sweeper.*

The titles of the books which Halliday sent to Mrs. Lincoln in December, 1860, are not known. Halliday's two other books were published later: *Winning Souls; Sketches and Incidents During Forty Years of Pastoral Work* in 1873, and *The Church in America* in 1896.

Halliday was assistant pastor of Beecher's church, 1869-1889, and died in Orange, New Jersey, in 1897 at the age of eighty-five.

H. E. P.

"CAP" ANSON'S FIRST PROFESSIONAL BASEBALL CONTRACT

Ever since the Civil War, baseball has been part and parcel of the sporting scene. Young men who show unusual ability in the game in high schools and colleges are enticed by fabulous offers to sign professional contracts. Those who accept become the "bonus babies" of the current season. A somewhat similar label was applied in 1871 to a gangling youth from Iowa who came to Rockford, Illinois, to play professional baseball—"The Marshalltown Infant." His first professional contract called for a salary of $66.66 per month during the playing season. Thus began the illustrious career of Adrian Constantine Anson, better known as "Cap" Anson. It was twenty-seven years later that this blond giant completed the terms of his last contract.

Rockford in 1871 was a rather quiet and unassuming town of about 11,000 people. But it was known far and wide to baseball "cranks" (later they became "fans") as the home of the Forest City nine. The baseball club had been organized in 1865 under the presidency of H. H. "Hi" Waldo, the local bookseller and erstwhile abolitionist. But the team's national reputation was not established until 1867. During that summer, the powerful Washington Nationals raised $5,000 to tour the country. This aggregation of government clerks and college students won every game on the trip except one. Its lone defeat came at the hands of the Forest City nine. Rockford was too far west so the game was played in Chicago. The upstarts from the Illinois prairies, who were really to be a warm-up for a game the next day with the Chicago Excelsiors, were led by a seventeen-year-old youth from Byron, Illinois—Albert G. Spalding who pitched his team to a 29-23 victory. Fom that day, the team of amateurs from Rockford was to be reckoned with in the eyes of the enthusiasts of the game. An even greater day dawned in 1870 when the Forest Citys defeated the famous Cincinnati Red Stockings by a score of 12 to 5.

It was not surprising that when the National Association of Professional Baseball Players was organized early in 1871, that Rockford was one of the nine original members of the league. Even before the season began the Forest City Club was in trouble. Its stars, Albert G. Spalding, Fred Cone, and Roscoe Barnes were lured to Boston to play for the Red Stockings. Interest waned, and it was soon apparent that Rockford was no longer a baseball power. This first season of the first professional baseball league ended with the Forest Citys being able to claim one dubious distinction: It was the first team to finish last in the history of the league—the original cellar team. This dismal showing brought a quick end to major league baseball in the Forest City. From then on it was minor league territory.

Rockford's star had fallen, but its third baseman was just beginning to rise. The next season found him in Philadelphia. There he stayed until 1876 when he came to Chicago. Here he remained as first baseman and manager until 1898. "Baby" Anson became "Cap" Anson and finally "Old Anse" or "Pop." When he retired, his Chicago Colts were promptly labled "The Orphans."

Anson's diamond achievements were many. First of all, he stayed around a long time—he was an active player in professional baseball for twenty-seven years. At the time of his retirement he was forty-seven years old. Cap was a hitter, too. His lifetime batting average was .339. Four times he led the National League and twice his average was over .400. Always a strong finisher, he batted .302 in his last season at Chicago.

ROCKFORD'S FOREST CITY BASE BALL CLUB OF 1869

Left to right are: Foley, third base; Barnes, shortstop; Barker, left field; Sawyer, right field; Cone, first base; Addy, catch; Spalding, pitch; King, center field; Hastings, second base.

Although he was not a flawless fielder, he could and did play any position well. His most disastrous experiences in the field came in the ill-fated world championships of 1885. There were 100 errors—and 97 hits—in the seven games and Anson contributed his share. He booted four chances in each of the last two games. He has also been labeled the first great manager. His Chicago team won five world championships in his first six seasons. Then came a drought of fifteen years.

Six feet two, and 220 pounds, he was the dominating figure on the diamond. His nickname, "Cap," was more than a mere title. For example, he once chased the owner of the Chicago team, Spalding, off the field during an argument. Anse was the first to make use of the baselines as a coaching box, and when aroused, the *New York Times* reported that "he had a voice in his impassioned moments like a hundred bulls of Bashan." Always the colorful player, Cap was the pride of sports-writers and fans alike. He inspired Eugene Field to describe him poetically:

> Lo! from the tribunes on the bleachers comes a shout,
> Beseeching bold Ansonius to line 'em out;
> And as Apollo's flying chariot cleaves the sky,
> So stanch Ansonius lifts the brightened ball on high.

But Mr. Dooley's creator, Finley Peter Dunne, was not as kind in his word picture:

> Capt. Anson marched to the bat to the music of rounds of applause, and found a basket of flowers at the home plate. Anson looked a trifle redder than usual, and with his blue suit and white stockings, might have gone to the top of the capitol building as an American flag. He struck out vigorously and the audience laughed him another shade redder.

Cap was not one to shrink from his critics, however. In later years when his age became a target, Anson appeared one afternoon in Boston with his chin adorned by white whiskers—he played errorless ball that day.

Off the diamond his exploits included the stage. He was the star of a baseball play called "The Runaway Colt," and also appeared in a slapstick vaudeville act during which he sang a song with others entitled "We're Ten Chubelin Tipperary Turks." His costume included green whiskers. As late as 1910 he could be seen on the New England circuits.

In 1905, Anson was swept into political office as City Clerk of Chicago. Although he was prominent in Democratic affairs for several years his record has long been forgotten. Only his statement when notified of his election seems to have survived. He told the press, "I'm just as pleased as if I'd won another pennant." Baseball, not politics was his game.

Business ventures in Chicago kept Anson busy in his later years. For a

THE YEAR CAP ANSON JOINED THE TEAM

When the Forest City Base Ball Club signed Adrian C. Anson to his first professional contract in 1871 only two members of the 1869 team appeared on the roster, Addy and Hastings. This team finished the season in last place in the National Association.

time he was a bottler of ginger beer. The product was so explosive, however, that he later reported that he feared to walk the streets lest he be pointed out as a purveyor of dynamite. Cap managed billiard parlors, bowling alleys, ice rinks, toboggan slides and golf courses. "Capt. Anson's indestructible score card" was another of his enterprises. In 1900 his memoirs appeared in the booksellers' stalls. It was not a distinguished work. These excursions were extracurricular activities for "Old Anse" for his heart was in baseball.

Before his death in 1922, Cap used to say that his epitaph was going to be: "Here lies a man who batted .300." Many years later Baseball's Hall of Fame was more eloquent. His plaque at Cooperstown, New York, reads: "the greatest hitter and greatest national league player-manager of the 19th century."

Although Adrian C. Anson played baseball around the world, he never forgot his first contract. "It was a fairly good salary for a ball player," he said, "and especially one who was only eighteen years old and a green country lad at that." Here is Cap's first professional contract which was recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library:

Memorandum of Agreement: made and entered into, this 31 day of March A. D. 1871. by and between John P. Manny, John C. Barbour, Henry W. Price, Hosmer P. Holland and Jerome C. Roberts[1] of the City of Rockford, Illinois, party of the first part: and Adrian C. Anson of Marshalltown Iowa, party of the second part:

Whereas divers residents of said city of Rockford, have associated themselves and contributed a common fund for the organization and maintenance of a first class base ball club, to be known and called "The Forest City Base Ball Club, of Rockford Illinois":

And whereas the said party of the second part, being desirous of playing in said Club: has represented to the party of the first part that he is a first class base ball player and possessed of the skill, and physically competent to play said game as a member of a first class club:

Now Therefore, this Agreement Witnesseth: That the said party of the second part, in consideration of the premises and of the promises and agreements of the party of the first part, hereinafter expressed, has, and does, covenant and agree, to and with said party of the first part, to play the game of base ball with said Forest City Base Ball Club, and in any position, he may be therein assigned by the Directors of said Club, for and during the season of A. D. 1871, to wit: from April 15 A. D. 1871, to and including October 15 A. D. 1871.

And in further consideration of the premises said party of the second

[1] Manny was a wealthy manufacturer of knife sections for the Manny reapers. His royalties were reputed to have brought him an income of $60,000 a year. Barbour was a dry goods merchant; Price manufactured boots, shoes and gloves; Holland was an attorney and partner of Manny; and Roberts had been a butter and egg dealer in Rockford for more than twenty years.

part promises and agrees to keep and observe the following rules of conduct and discipline, viz:

To use his best efforts to advance the interests of said Club, by cheerfull, prompt and respectfull obedience of the Directions and requirements of the Directors thereof, or of any person by said Directors placed in authority over him, as well as the by laws of said Club:

To abstain from the use of alcoholic Liquors: unless medically prescribed, and to conduct himself, both off and on the Ball Ground, in all things like a gentleman:

To report promptly for duty at the gounds of the Club for all games, and for practice at the hours designated there for by the officers of the Club, and upon the grounds, to abstain from profane language, Scuffling and light conduct, and to discourage the same in others.

To practice at least two and a half hours per day, on each and every practice day of the Club, and at all times both in games and at practice, to use his best endeavors to perfect himself in play, Always bearing in mind that the object in view in every game is to win.

And in further consideration of the premises said party of the second part promises and agrees that he will not make, or procure to be made for him, or in any bet or wager upon the result of any game, or upon the playing of any member of the club, or upon anything connected with any game, in which said Forest City Club, may engage during the time of his engagement here under,

And in Consideration of the premises, said party of the first part promise and agree to pay said party of the second part the sum of Sixty six and two third ($66 2/3) Dollars per month for each and every month of the time he may play with said Forest City Club, payable as follows: to wit: Sixty Six and two third ($66 2/3) Dollars on the 1st day of June A. D. 1871, and sixty six and two third ($66 2/3) Dollars on the first day of each and every month thereafter of the term of his employment, as aforesaid, the balance due to be fully paid on the 1st day of November A. D. 1871.

A. C. ANSON

I C BARBOUR
HOSMER P. HOLLAND

Along with this Anson contract the Historical Library acquired the 1871 contract of Winfield Scott Hastings. He had evidently been with the team for several years and the Forest Citys agreed to pay him $100 per month. He was twenty-three years old at the time but his baseball career was over at the age of thirty. From Rockford he went to Cleveland in 1872, and after that he jumped from team to team, ending up in 1877 at Cincinnati.

Illinois State Historical Library ROGER H. VAN BOLT

BOOK REVIEWS

Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois. By Noel F. Busch. (Farrar, Straus & Young: New York, 1952. Pp. 233. $3.75.)

Two Illinois sons have appeared before New York audiences and subsequently received nation-wide recognition. For Abraham Lincoln it was the Cooper Union speech of February 27, 1860 and for Adlai E. Stevenson the Urban League speech of January 21, 1952. Soon after the latter event, *Time* magazine devoted a "cover" article to Governor Stevenson and two very competent writers arrived in Springfield to gather material for book-length biographies. But before the Democratic convention only one publisher was willing to assume the risk of bringing out a book on a Midwestern governor who might or might not be a presidential candidate.

Subsequent events must have made this first book a financial success—it became the basis for most of the biographical writing that has appeared about Governor Stevenson in the newspapers and will be the basis for comparison when other biographies are published. However, it is a "quickie" with the usual faults of the genre—it is short and typographical errors are fairly frequent. Although there are 233 pages of text (plus 37 of pictures) only half of the book is devoted to Busch's biography. The second half contains excerpts from some of the Governor's speeches and writings, including veto messages and his deposition on Alger Hiss. Perhaps the author realized that whatever he would say about these papers could be said better by the papers themselves. This is particularly true of nearly forty pages of questions and answers from *U. S. News & World Report* and a television program, "Meet the Press," in which Governor Stevenson replied to queries on such subjects as: international affairs, Democratic Party policy, racial segregation,

the Taft-Hartley Act, compulsory health insurance, corruption in office, national defense and communism.

In so brief a space the author could only scratch the surface of the many activities the Governor has crammed into his busy first half century of life. As a result there is little detail on the important tasks he performed for the federal government before running for public office. And there is even less on his accomplishments since he has been Governor. The author, who has been a staff writer for *Life* magazine, calls his work a "Portrait." And that is what it is—a *Life*-style picture with a pre-convention date.

H. F. R.

Bloody Williamson. By Paul M. Angle. (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1952. Pp. 300. $4.00.)

In the opening chapter of *Bloody Williamson,* Paul Angle reports in stark detail, often shocking but always documented, the Herrin massacre of June 22, 1922, the mob murder of twenty strip mine workers who had surrendered under a flag of truce to the union miners who had besieged the Lester strip mine between Marion and Herrin, Illinois. Three union miners had been killed in the fighting at the mine.

Chapter II paints the background for the outbreak of violence, details the growth of the labor union in the southern Illinois coal fields, the opening of the strip mine, the importation of Chicago workers who were not members of the United Mine Workers but claimed membership in a steamshovel workers union, the resentment of the union miners, the widely publicized telegram from John L. Lewis and the efforts of the local committees to bring about a solution of the dangerous differences. The dereliction, indecision and bungling of county law enforcers, representatives of the state government and officials of the miners' union are recounted.

The next two chapters deal with the immediate aftermath of the Herrin massacre, the reluctant prosecution, the indictments of individual U. M. W. members, the two trials in which all defendants were acquitted, the legislative investigation which retreated from Williamson County to Springfield and, finally, a practical writing off of the whole affair.

Angle then turns back the pages of Williamson County history to the year 1868 and the beginning of a series of family feuds that came to be known as "The Bloody Vendetta," the first of a half dozen instances of violence that fastened the adjective "bloody" on Williamson County.

Thereafter the organization of the book is chronological. The development of the coal industry in the years before the turn of the century changed the county from an agricultural to an industrial community. Coal mine

operators resisted the unions, and strikes, strike breakers and violence followed in that order. Five Negro mine workers were killed in the disorders at the Brush mine near Carterville and militiamen were called out. Further disorders followed at Ziegler where young Joe Leiter, a Chicago millionaire was trying out new ideas about social problems and industrial relations. The troubles at Carterville, Cambria, and at Ziegler set the stage and the mood for the major tragedy that was the Herrin massacre.

After the mine wars came the liquor raids led by S. Glen Young, the political domination of the Ku Klux Klan which was climaxed by the elections of 1924 and, finally, the terrorism, the official corruption, the violence and murder resulting from the rivalry of the Shelton and Birger gangs for control of bootlegging, gambling and vice in the southern counties. The narrative concludes with the hanging of Charlie Birger in the jail court yard at Benton, the county seat of Franklin County, on April 19, 1928.

This book brings into proper perspective a succession of events that had been reported only in contemporary accounts, often colored by rumor and prejudice. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society and a former editor of this *Journal,* is a scholar and historian of recognized stature. His narrative is soundly based on official court records and upon personal interviews with leading figures, still living, in the stirring events of twenty and thirty years ago. He has written a serious book—but he is not unaware of occasional humorous situations in his recital of sober events.

Residents of the southern counties—Franklin, Saline, St. Clair and Madison, as well as Williamson—may deplore this new interest in unsavory chapters in their local history. But this book is a work of research, not a sensational recital of rumor and partial information.

This reviewer is a native of Williamson County and was a college boy at home for vacation during the summer of 1922. But he stayed close to the family fireside in Marion during those dangerous days in June and does not qualify as an eyewitness to any of the incidents. And as a native son he regrets, while he admits, the practical necessity which dictates the title for this excellent book.

Decatur DAVID V. FELTS

The Early Histories of St. Louis. Edited by John Francis McDermott. (St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation: St. Louis, 1952. Pp. xi, 171. $4.00.)

The Early Histories of St. Louis represents a type of historical writing which has been gaining in popularity in recent years. A judicious blending of selections from primary authors concerning a particular historical event with

the critical comments and interpretations of an editor thoroughly acquainted with his subject can result in a volume of considerable value, particularly to students of local history and to historical scholars generally. This is certainly true of the volume under consideration.

As the editor's preface makes clear, this is not a history of St. Louis, nor is it intended to be merely a compilation of selections describing the founding and growth of this Midwestern metropolis. It is a serious survey of the historical writing which appeared during the first century following the establishment of the town. However one cannot read it without being considerably enlightened with respect to that early history. The basic document is Auguste Chouteau's fourteen-page narrative of the original settlement. The editor's critical essay, appearing as the Introduction, is largely taken up with showing to what extent subsequent writers consulted and relied upon the Chouteau "fragment," or at what points they are at variance with him. Also of interest will be the degree to which "literary piracy" flourished in the early nineteenth century as evidenced by the number of occasions in which authors appropriated entire sections from the work of earlier writers, often verbatim, and usually without benefit of acknowledgment or quotation marks.

The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation is to be congratulated for making this publication possible as is John Francis McDermott for his valuable introduction and his careful, but unobtrusive editing. The book itself is a work of art, both in its conception and execution. It is beautifully printed, well illustrated, and adequately indexed and documented throughout.

University of Illinois ROBERT M. SUTTON

Lincoln, A Picture Story of His Life. By Stefan Lorant. (Harper & Bros.: New York, 1952. Pp. 256. Regular ed. $6.00, autographed ed. $10.00.)

In 1941 Lorant gave us a pictorial biography of Lincoln, but his studies since that time have unearthed more pictures and have clarified many vague references concerning the photographers of some 100 different photographs of Lincoln. Lorant has grouped them by the date they were taken and he demonstrates how Mathew Brady's multiple camera took several pictures at the same time.

There are facsimiles of many of Lincoln's important letters and legal documents, photographs of his home, law offices, and his contacts with the Civil War through the camera of Brady.

The text highlights the events pictured. The improved quality of this book over the one issued in 1941 illustrates the author's improved knowl-

edge of Lincoln. This is in step with the research and publication of new material on the subject. Lorant is also the author of *F. D. R., A Pictorial Biography,* and *The Presidency: A Pictorial History of Presidential Elections from Washington to Truman.*

Through Lincoln's Door. By Virginia Stuart Brown. (Li-Co Art & Letter Service: Springfield, Illinois, 1952. Pp. 79. $1.00.)

This lithographed brochure on the Lincoln Home at Eighth and Jackson streets in Springfield, Illinois, is notable for the author's attractive illustrations. There are drawings of Lincoln's dog and horse, his favorite chair and shaving mirror. Other sketches which help to portray life in Springfield in the 1850's are of the old Statehouse, the First Presbyterian Church, Governor's Manson, Globe Tavern, Ninian W. Edwards' home and Lincoln's law offices.

The text gives the salient facts about the house where the Lincolns lived from 1844 to 1861 and where Miss Brown has been custodian for twenty-eight years. A third of a million visitors every year pass though the doors of the Lincoln Home.

Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant. Edited with Notes and an Introduction by E. B. Long. (World Publishing Co.: Cleveland and New York, 1952. Pp. 608. $6.00.)

Mark Twain was proud of the important role he played in publishing *Grant's Memoirs* in 1885. The *Memoirs* made publishing history and provided a fine estate for the General's family. Now, after two generations, the two volumes have been put into one and 150 footnotes have been added. Editor Long, wearer of a red beard, like General Grant, has culled the writings of the scholars of the Civil War thus clarifying and correcting many statements to make the *Memoirs* an even finer study of the Civil War. The forty-three maps have been reduced to eight. The index is an improvement over the one in the original printing.

Shiloh. By Shelby Foote. (Dial Press: New York, 1952. Pp. 222. $2.75.)

This is a biography of the Battle of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862, told through the eyes of three Northern and four Southern soldiers. They tell of the successes and failures of the armies as viewed by a private, sergeant, lieutenant and captain. Personal views and problems obtrude even with the battle going on and cowards stealing away in droves. Foote has produced a novel to hold anyone with the slightest interest in the Civil War, or in the careers of Generals Grant, Wallace, Johnston and Beauregard.

Cyclone in Calico. By Nina Brown Baker. (Little, Brown & Co.: Boston, 1952. Pp. 278. $3.50.)

Widow Mary Ann Bickerdyke, Civil War nurse, hospital manager, and field agent of the Sanitary Corps, "went to war" from Galesburg, Illinois. Sent to Cairo in the summer of 1861 with $500 worth of supplies, this veritable "cyclone in calico" prepared good food and enforced cleanliness in the hospitals. She anticipated the use of vitamins and antiseptics in her prescription of fresh fruits and vegetables, baths, and plenty of fresh air.

She was equally successful at raising money for the Sanitary Corps in platform appearances and setting up front-line dressing stations. She became a favorite of Generals Grant, Sherman, Logan and Hurlbut, even though she despised any rule or order from any quarter that interfered with her hospital management.

When she wanted eggs and milk for the wounded in Tennessee, she returned to Illinois and southern Wisconsin and collected laying hens and milk cows and escorted them to Memphis. It fitted her reputation for getting things done.

Mother Bickerdyke, physically strong, courageous in her convictions, and vivid in her speech, is sympathetically portrayed. The pictures are clear of her mounted on Old Whitey, headed for another hospital—or tearing down a general's orders from the wall of a hospital laundry. When an army doctor got furious at her and promised to run her out of Memphis she replied:

> But I shan't go, doctor . . . I've enlisted for the war as the boys have . . . and so I shall stay, doctor, and you'll have to make up your mind to get along with me the best way you can . . . and doctor, I guess you hadn't better get into a row with me, for whenever anybody does one of us always goes to the wall. And 'tain't never me!

On another occasion General Sherman replied to a complaining colonel: "You've picked on the one person around here who out-ranks me. If you want to lodge a complaint against her you'll have to take it to President Lincoln."

H. E. P.

A Pictorial History of Northwestern University, 1851-1951. Edited by Franklin D. Scott. (Northwestern University Press: Evanston, Illinois, 1951. Pp. 198. $3.50.)

In a day of picture books for adults this one compares favorably with the best. For graduates of Northwestern and former Evanstonians it is especially appealing. The pictures are excellent and well chosen. Those of the

disaster at Pearl Harbor, D-Day on the Normandy Beach, and Shigemitsu signing the Japanese surrender aboard the *Missouri,* and three scenes from World War I may seem out of place, but possibly they only emphasize the effect of war on the university.

Franklin D. Scott, professor of history at Northwestern, was editor of the book but, as he says in the foreword, it "is the work of many minds and many hands." The writing was done largely by John M. Norris, a graduate assistant in history, "based to a great extent upon a much longer manuscript prepared by Dean James Alton James." Dr. James, dean of the Graduate School, emeritus, and former president and director of the Illinois State Historical Society, was editorial consultant.

If one may judge the success of a book by the way in which it fulfills the intent of its compilers, this one has achieved its purpose well. And the hope of the editor that "the alumnus may have here some moments of pleasant memories" has been realized.

S. A. W.

The Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Illinois, 1783-1952. By Everett R. Turnbull. (Pantagraph Printing Co.: Bloomington, Illinois, 1952. Pp. 401. $5.00.)

The growth of Masonic lodges from Kaskaskia north over Illinois including Chicago and Nauvoo is developed up to and including the Military Lodges of the Civil War in the first 170 pages of this book. It then takes up Masonic efforts in the field of education, in relief work after the Chicago Fire, in laying cornerstones of prominent buildings, and in the charity and benevolence projects which include the Illinois Masonic Orphans' Home at La Grange and the Illinois Masonic Home at Sullivan.

Chapters on Stephen A. Douglas' connections with Masonry from 1840 to his death in 1861; and the part played in the funeral of Abraham Lincoln, by the Masons of Illinois, in Springfield should be read by all students of the careers of these Illinois citizens.

Among the prominent men in the state's history who were Masons were Governors Bond, Ewing, Oglesby, Lowden and Emmerson, and John J. Hardin, H. P. H. Bromwell, James Hall and Thomas J. Pickett. Biographical sketches of the Grand Masters from 1840 to 1951 are included. Turnbull's good work is matched by fine printing and excellent illustrations and a fair index.

H. E. P.

Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America 1680-1880. By Mark Holloway. (Americana Library Publishers: New York, 1951. Pp. 240. $4.75.)

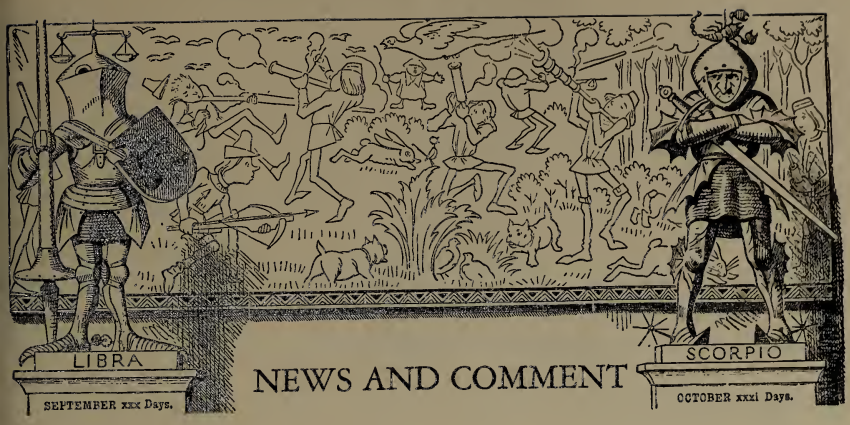
Brevity, readability, and sensible generalizations recommend this addition to the extensive literature about what Engels called "utopian socialism," and what a contemporary authority, Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., has called "communitarian socialism." Covering the period from 1680 to 1880, the book makes no mention of Plockhoy's Commonwealth in Delaware (1663), but strays beyond the *terminus ad quem* in a brief outline of communitarian developments since the late nineteenth century.

The author, although an Englishman, has based his account almost entirely upon American sources, and very largely upon the pioneer work of John Humphrey Noyes. He seems to have aimed at stimulating a wider interest in American communities, and, with his sympathetic, humorous, anecdotal approach, certainly deserves to succeed. He has not allowed his mastery of the arts of popularity to obscure his judgment and achieves a broad but accurate picture with an economy of brushwork.

There is an occasional looseness of language, as when he suggests that certain Greek states may have "put into practice a perversion of the true communist state," without attempting to define the latter phrase. There are a few factual errors and slips. Captain John Smith's expedition to Virginia took place in 1606-7, not in 1605. Elizabeth Stuart was Queen, not "Princess," of Bohemia. Thomas Say, far from being "the greatest American geologist of his time," was a French-born naturalist. It is scarcely correct to describe Nashoba as an Owenite settlement, and then there are some misspellings.

Holloway concludes that changing economic conditions were responsible for the decline of utopian socialism—notably rising land values. In community life, he believes, "there is no complete recipe for success." But certain basic prerequisites can be distinguished, among them "some fundamental belief to which all members subscribe," a very discriminating system of admission, and the "previous acquaintance of the founder-members." The community experiment, he feels, was well worth while, for it sustained values superior to those desires and appetites to which the modern workingman gives allegiance, even while he finds them obnoxious in the rich.

University of Illinois IAN C. C. GRAHAM.



NEWS AND COMMENT

ANNUAL MEETING AT KANKAKEE, OCTOBER 10-11

The Fifty-Third Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society will be held at Kankakee on October 10-11. Kankakee Hotel will be headquarters and Board Member Ralph E. Francis will be in charge, with Mrs. Thomas Baird as local chairman.

The opening session at 10:30 Friday morning will be a forum meeting where officials and leaders of county historical societies will have an opportunity to exchange views. At the luncheon which will follow, the speakers will be Dr. Ernest S. Klein, managing director, and Francis B. Scully, public relations, of the Kankakee State Hospital, and Dr. Alfred P. Bay, superintendent of Manteno State Hospital. They will trace the histories of their institutions and development in the treatment of mental patients.

In the afternoon the members will visit the museum of the Kankakee County Historical Society and the nearby home of Dr. A. L. Small, early Kankakee physician and father of Governor Len Small. Then a tea will be held at the home of Leslie C. Small, publisher of the *Kankakee Journal* and son of the Governor.

Dr. Stanley Pargellis, Librarian of the Newberry Library, Chicago, will be the speaker at the annual dinner on Friday evening. On Saturday morning the group will tour the Kankakee State Hospital or will visit the Gaines Dog Food Company where representatives of the canine family will be on display. Dr. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., professor of history at the University of Illinois, will speak at the Saturday luncheon on "Backwoods Utopias: Their Significance in Illinois and the Old Northwest."

Complete programs will be sent to all members early enough to allow ample time for making arrangements to attend.

SPRINGFIELD'S TWO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

The pictures on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* are of the crowds honoring Springfield's two presidential nominees. The two occasions were nearly a century apart. The top picture of Governor Adlai E. Stevenson on the speakers' stand at the south side of the old Statehouse was taken during a "welcome home" celebration on July 28, 1952, by Herbert Georg, Springfield photographer. The bottom picture was taken on August 8, 1860, when Abraham Lincoln stood in the doorway and reviewed a giant procession as it passed in front of his home. Later in the day Lincoln was forced to flee on horseback to escape in safety from the pressing crowds at a rally on the fairgrounds.

NEW DIRECTOR FOR JUNIOR HISTORIAN PROGRAM

Donald F. Tingley of Marshall, Illinois, who received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Illinois in June, has joined the staff of the Illinois State Historical Library to become director of the Junior Historian program. Dr. Tingley succeeds Dr. Roger H. Van Bolt who resigned effective September 1, to accept a position as historical research specialist at the Edison Institute, Dearborn, Michigan.

During the two years of Dr. Van Bolt's directorship the program experienced a steady growth until the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine now has some 4,000 subscribers in nearly 200 schools throughout the state. With publication of the October issue the magazine will begin its sixth year. The program is sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society.

"FOREVER THIS LAND!" CLOSES SECOND SEASON

With an attendance record of 57,000, an increase of 5,000 over its 1951 total, the outdoor Lincoln drama "Forever This Land!" closed its second successful season in the Kelso Hollow theater at New Salem State Park on August 24. In its first two years the play, which Kermit Hunter wrote for presentation by the New Salem Lincoln League, had 107 performances and was rained out only twice—both times this year—for an average attendance of more than 1,000 nightly.

As a part of the year-to-year development of the production the author made several changes in the script and staging this second season—more emphasis was placed on the Lincoln role, the narration was done on stage by the character of Jack Kelso instead of by an off-stage voice, and the choir was also visible. Visitors who saw the show both years considered these changes major improvements.

Fifteen members of the cast of 62 returned for the second season and among them was Harlington Wood, Jr., Springfield attorney, who played the role of Lincoln. The feminine lead, the role of Ann Rutledge, was played by Billie Lou Brummell of Wood River, Illinois, who took a leave of absence from her regular job as an airline hostess. William MacIlwinen, director, and Samuel Selden, production supervisor, and many members of the business and production staffs of twenty persons also returned.

A new thirty-two page souvenir program was published for this second season. In addition to pictures and stories of members of the cast and staff it contains a biographical sketch of Lincoln at New Salem by Dr. Harry E. Pratt, State Historian; the story of New Salem by Benjamin P. Thomas, trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library whose one-volume biography of Lincoln will be published in November; and a history of the New Salem Lincoln League by Thomas P. Reep, a charter member of the League and author of *Lincoln at New Salem*. Also, a recording was made of the music from the play. Both the souvenir program and the record may be obtained by writing to the New Salem Lincoln League, Petersburg, Illinois. The price for the program is fifty cents and for the record $1.00, plus mailing charges.

That the fame of the Lincoln drama has spread beyond central Illinois is shown by the publication of reviews and illustrated articles in St. Louis and Chicago papers. Brooks Atkinson, drama critic of the *New York Times*, visited New Salem and devoted two articles to the production.

"Forever This Land!" was one of three outdoor plays by Kermit Hunter which were shown this summer. "Unto These Hills," his drama of the Cherokee Indians, was in its third season at Cherokeee, North Carolina, while "Horn in the West," a study of the early settlement of the Appalachian Mountains, attracted more than 60,000 in its first season at Boone, North Carolina.

SEVENTH ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF "ABE LINCOLN IN ILLINOIS"

Following the closing of "Forever This Land!" the Abe Lincoln Players presented Robert Sherwood's "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" on the Kelso Hollow stage for five nights, August 27 through 31. This was the seventh annual presentation of the 1939 Pulitzer Prize play by this Springfield group. State Representative G. William Horsley played the part of Lincoln and Betty Farrington that of Mary Todd as they had done in previous seasons. They, and the supporting cast of twenty-five, were directed by Adelaide O'Brien.

NEW SALEM RESTORATION PLAQUE

A bronze plaque, mounted on a boulder, honoring the individuals and organizations responsible for the restoration of the village where Abraham Lincoln lived from 1831 to 1837 was dedicated at New Salem on July 15. President Edward S. Mitchell of the New Salem Lincoln League of Petersburg presided. Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, who was introduced by Mayor J. Colby Beekman of Petersburg, paid tribute in particular to two former governors, Louis L. Emmerson and Henry Horner, during whose administrations (1932-1940) New Salem was rebuilt. Commander Maurice Horner, nephew of Governor Horner, was a guest at the ceremony.

Governor Stevenson also commended C. Herrick Hammond, State Architect, and his assistant, Joseph F. Booton, who had immediate charge of the work. Mrs. G. D. Warnsing and Mrs. Henry E. Pond were complimented for their efforts in gathering the hundreds of articles for the cabin interiors.

The newly dedicated plaque is across the village street from Joshua Miller's blacksmith shop. The inscription, which has the Illinois state seal at the top and a profile of Lincoln at the lower left, reads:

Tuesday July 15, 1952/ In commemoration of/ Governor Louis L. Emmerson/ Governor Henry Horner/The Old Salem Chautauqua Association/ The Old Salem Lincoln League/ The New Salem Lincoln League/ The State of Illinois/ The Civilian Conservation Corps/ The National Park Service/ All participants/ in the restoration/ of this historic/ Village, Home of/ Abraham Lincoln/ 1831-1837.

GENERAL BENJAMIN H. GRIERSON'S PAPERS

More than two thousand letters and some miscellaneous army records of General Benjamin H. Grierson of Jacksonville, Illinois, covering the period from 1854 to 1891, have recently been acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. Four of the letters are from General Ulysses S. Grant, and another tells of an interview Grierson and Grant had with Abraham Lincoln.

General Grierson is best known for his cavalry raids in the South. The most notable of these was a sixteen-day campaign in the Spring of 1863, 600 miles across Mississippi to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, with 1,700 men. His command destroyed much of the Vicksburg & Meridian and New Orleans & Jackson railroads. The raid was particularly helpful to General Grant in his campaign against Vicksburg and he complimented Grierson by writing: "General Grierson was the first officer to set the example of what might be done in the interior of the enemy's country without a base from which to draw supplies."

General Grierson continued in active service throughout the war and

was promoted to Major General of Volunteers on May 27, 1865. Assigned to command the Military District of Northern Alabama, at Huntsville, he remained in the Volunteer service until April 30, 1866. In July, 1866, he was appointed Colonel of the 10th Regiment of Cavalry, U. S. Army, and was stationed at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, from September, 1866 to August, 1867. He was in command of his regiment at Fort Riley, Kansas, from September, 1867 to April, 1868, and at Fort Gibson, Camp Wichita, Fort Sill and District of the Indian Territory from 1868 to 1873, where he was actively engaged in scouting, exploring, and campaigning against the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes and other Indians, and in removing intruders from the Indian Territory. He was superintendent of the General Mounted Recruiting Service, St. Louis Barracks, Missouri, 1873-1874, and in command of his regiment at Fort Concho, Texas, and District of the Pecos from 1875 to 1881. While there he was actively engaged in scouting and exploring the country throughout western Texas and the adjacent Territory of New Mexico, and in campaigns against the Apaches, Victorio's band and other Indians. He commanded Fort Concho and Sub Posts in 1881-1882, Department of Texas in September and October, 1883, and Fort Davis, Sub Posts and country west of the Pecos River, Texas, from 1883 to 1885. From May, 1885 until his retirement in 1890 he was in command of his regiment and Whipple Barracks, Prescott, Arizona Territory.

Half of the General's 2,000 letters are to his wife, Alice Kirk Grierson. Some 350 of these are from the Civil War period and about 400 from the forts in the West—46 from Fort Gibson, 60 from Fort Sill, and 245 from Fort Concho. Captain S. L. Woodward, of Paducah, Kentucky, who was with General Grierson from 1862 to 1888, is represented by about 200 letters. Several hundred more are from John Kirk, his father-in-law; Louisa Grierson Semple, his sister who resided at Concord, Illinois; and his brothers, Captain John C. and Robert Grierson.

The General taught music in Jacksonville from 1849 to 1855 and was a partner in a store at Meredosia from 1855 to 1859. Although he spent many years on the western frontier he visited Jacksonville frequently and after his retirement lived there until his death in 1911 at the age of eighty-six.

In addition to the Grant letters the Grierson Papers contain letters from these Civil War leaders: Sherman, Augur, Banks, Hatch, Hurlbut, Logan, Pope, Washburne, Howard and Miles. Following is an excerpt from Grierson's letter to his wife, dated from Washington, D. C., February 12, 1865, in which he tells of seeing Lincoln:

We arrived here Friday morning—— Genl Grant—— arrived the same day—— I met him in the evening—— he told me on first sight that he had

recommended my promotion to the position of Major Genl. by brevet. immediately on his arrival——

Yesterday the appointment was confirmed by the Senate without a moments hesitation and without reference to the milt—— committee—— I was honored by an invitation inside the Senate chamber—— where I was introduced to all the Senators—— all of whom expressed themselves delighted to see me—— Last evening I called with Genl Grant to see the President—— had a delightful interview—— of near an hours duration—— I was complimented highly by Mr Lincoln Secty Stanton, Seward, & others—— in short I have had a *big* time—— I have just received my commission, & orders—— which assigns me to duty with my *brevet* rank in the Milt Div of West Miss. to take Command of the Cavalry organizing for the field——This order is by order of the President & from the Adjt. Genls Office—— I will have an order from Genl Grant also & private letter complimenting me highly to Genl Canby——

Mrs. Martha Capp Frank of Jacksonville, a grandniece of General Grierson, has long been the custodian of the Papers.

FOR UNIVERSITY OR PUBLIC LIBRARIES

The Illinois State Historical Library has duplicate copies of miscellaneous issues of the periodicals listed below which it will send to university or public libraries which request them and pay mailing costs:

American Mercury, Vols. 3-22; 1924-1931.
Current History, Vols. 15-52; 1922-1941.
Current Opinion, Vols. 60-78; 1916-1925.
Emergency Fleet News, Vol. 1; 1918-1919, incomplete.
Forum, Vols. 75-84; 1926-1930.
Geographical Review, Vols. 7-20, 22; 1919-1930, 1932.
Harvey's Weekly, Vols. 2, 4; 1919, 1921, incomplete; Vol. 3; 1920, complete.
The Independent, Vol. 77, nos. 3396-3408 (Jan. 5-March 30, 1914), bound.
The Kourier, Vol. 3, no. 8; July, 1927.
Literary Digest, Vols. 51-108; 1915-1931, Vols. 54 and 59 missing.

FIVE NEW HISTORICAL MARKERS

The Illinois State Historical Society will erect historical markers at five spots in the state this fall. One of the metal plates, near Huntsville, will mark the grave of Azel Dorsey, a teacher of Abraham Lincoln. Another will be at Edwardsville, for the grave of Edward Coles, second governor of the state. A third will mark the trail near Pinckneyville followed by George Rogers Clark and his small army from Kaskaskia to Vincennes during the

Revolutionary War. Another will commemorate the "Hubbard Trace" from Danville to Chicago, while the fifth, at Buffalo Rock State Park, will indicate the probable site of Fort Ottawa, built in 1760-1761.

LAND OF GOSHEN SOCIETY KEEPS BUSY

The Land of Goshen Society, Edwardsville, whose recent organization was mentioned in the Summer, 1952 issue of this *Journal,* has continued active through the summer doing volunteer service in filing and classifying for the Madison County Historical Museum. With the assistance, also volunteer, of Margaret Hail, Alton High School librarian, the Museum library was organized in accordance with standard library procedures. Among other pursuits of the members was a study to ascertain how many governors had actually resided in Edwardsville. The Society established residence there for five: Ninian Edwards, Edward Coles, John Reynolds, Thomas Ford, and Charles Deneen.

CIVIL WAR ROUND TABLE

Sixty-five members of the Chicago Civil War Round Table, with their families, made a tour of central Illinois, August 23-24. They visited Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois; then they went to New Salem and in the evening attended the performance of "Forever This Land!" In Springfield they visited the Lincoln Home and Tomb and the Illinois State Historical Library where a special Civil War exhibit was arranged. President Elmer Gertz spoke at the dedication of a new marker erected on the site of Camp Yates.

LINCOLN HOME RESTORATION

The Lincoln Home in Springfield is being repaired and restored to its original appearance, both inside and out. The remodeling will require several months during which time the house will be closed to visitors, who will be taken on a tour of the grounds instead. The 1860 roofing will be reproduced, and the house painted a Quaker tint of light brown, its color then. Structural changes have been made since the Lincolns lived there. One family added a kitchen and rear porch. These will be removed. Within, the wallpaper and carpeting are to be reproduced as nearly as possible.

LOVEJOY SHRINE BOOKLET IN SECOND PRINTING

Demand for the thirty-six page booklet *The Lovejoy Shrine, The Lovejoy Station on the Underground Railroad* has made a second edition necessary.

Written by George Owen Smith, late superintendent of schools of both Princeton and Bureau County, it was originally published in 1949. The little volume is concerned principally with the story of Owen Lovejoy's abolitionist activities in his adopted home town and incidentally with his home there. Copies of this second edition may be had at fifty cents each by addressing the Bureau County Historical Society, Princeton, Illinois.

The Kornthal Congregation and Historical Society held a special Memorial Sunday service in the Kornthal Church on June 1. Members of the Illinois State Historical Society who went to Cairo on the spring tour in 1948 will remember this beautiful old structure in a peaceful valley about two miles south of Jonesboro. The church was dedicated long ago as St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church and for many years was the spiritual home of the German settlers in the area. This newly organized society hopes to make the old building available for special worship services.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boone County Historical Society has acquired portraits of two of the county's earliest settlers, John Woodruff and his wife, Lucinda Maria Dimick Woodruff, which were the gift of Brigadier General and Mrs. Franklin Riter of Salt Lake City. Mrs. Riter is the granddaughter of John and Lucinda Woodruff. The Woodruffs came to Boone County in 1849 from Windsor, New York.

Mrs. H. P. Grove, director of the Bureau County Historical Society, recently announced a gift to the Society of files of the *Bureau County Tribune*, which ceased publication last year. The gift was made by Harlow B. Brown, publisher of the paper since 1919. The files go back more than seventy-five years. Another gift to the Society was from Mrs. Miles Fox and her sons Virgil and Warren, and consisted of the moving picture films of the Bureau County Centennial in 1928.

Officers of the recently organized Cairo Historical Association include: Mrs. Brooks Long, president; Mrs. William Winter, Jr., first vice-president; Earl L. Jewell, second vice-president; Mrs. Frank Champion, secretary; and Mrs. Walter Waite, treasurer.

The Association has acquired the historic and beautiful old mansion built in 1869 by Charles A. Galigher. It will be used as a show place and com-

munity center. The house was described in John Drury's *Old Illinois Houses* in the chapter, "Under the Magnolias." The name "Magnolia Manor" has been selected by the group for the old mansion. C. Fred Galigher, son of the builder, has been named honorary member of the Association.

A photographic exhibit, "Chicago at Work," was held at the Chicago Historical Society throughout the summer months. Paul M. Angle, director of the Society, said that the exhibit contained some 400 photographs submitted by industrial, business, and institutional organizations and showed hundreds of vocations. The pictures will be a part of the Society's permanent files.

A rare engraving of Ulysses S. Grant and family was displayed in July. Engraved in 1868, the picture was published to acquaint the public with Grant, the presidential candidate.

The DuPage Historical Society held its midsummer meeting on July 20 at the Hobson House, the estate of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Fredenhagen, southeast of Naperville. Before the social hour and picnic supper Society members visited the Martin Mitchell historical museum on Aurora Road at the western edge of Naperville.

At its June meeting the Edwards County Historical Society heard Mrs. Virginia Skinner and Mrs. Laura Killough on the subject of Shawneetown. The historic old river town was moved some years ago to a new site to escape the high water.

In July Mrs. Ethel S. Elliott described her recent trip to Hawaii. She illustrated her talk with maps, pictures, and souvenirs.

Miss Georgia Lusk presented the September program of the Edwardsville Chapter of the Madison County Historical Society. Her topic, "Old Daguerreotypes," was illustrated with daguerreotypes from her own collection, augmented by the collections of other members.

Officers of the Galena Historical Society elected in June are: Mrs. H. L. Heer, president; Dr. Ray E. Logan, vice-president; Mrs. George Millhouse, secretary; and Joseph Hissem, treasurer. Directors re-elected include: Mrs. Gus Ambre, Katherine Delihant, Mrs. Theodore Oppido, Mrs. George Millhouse, Jr., and Stanley Leay.

Colonel George Fabyan was the subject of a paper presented to the Geneva Historical Society in May by Myrtle McIntosh. The Fabyan Forest Preserve is a constant reminder of the beautiful estate maintained by the Colonel, who was an authority on architectural acoustics and maintained laboratories for work on sound and cryptography. Colonel Fabyan died in 1936.

Judge Gilbert K. Hutchens addressed the Greene County Historical Society on May 21. His topic was "Our American Heritage." Mrs. O. T. Purl read reports from Robert Black, the Society's vice-president, who is making a round-the-world trip by air.

A recent gift to the Society by Ward Evans, of White Hall, was a picture of the "Pioneers and Old Settlers of Greene County, Illinois." There are 143 people in the picture.

Robert E. Everly spoke at the June meeting of the Glencoe Historical Society. He sketched the important developments of the village since its days as a farming community. There was also an exhibit of cooperage tools which were the property of Lambert Diettrich whose father had used them at his barrel shop on Green Bay Road.

A questionnaire prepared by Fred L. Holmes has been mailed to descendants of Glencoe's original settlers. Mr. Holmes hopes that in this way many uncertainties about Glencoe's past may be made clear.

A LaSalle County Historical Society was organized in August. Mrs. Edward Carus was chosen president pro tempore and Mrs. Nita Smith and Florence Clarke, secretary and treasurer, respectively for the organizational period.

On August 15 a dinner meeting was held at the Hotel Kaskaskia in LaSalle. The principal speakers were C. C. Tisler of Ottawa, a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and Mrs. Henry P. Grove of Princeton, president of the Bureau County Historical Society for a number of years and now chairman of that county's museum. Mrs. Carus has appointed committees to get the Society's organizational work under way, and in January permanent officers and committees will be selected.

E. H. Lukenbill, president of the Logan County Historical Society, has written an epic poem dedicated to the county—the land, its heritage and its pioneers. The verses were printed in the July issue of the *Lincoln Courier*.

The gold-braided, silk-lined, full-dress uniform said to have belonged to a Bavarian prince has been placed in the McLean County Historical Society. The uniform was lent to the Society for display by William Roberds, of Normal, who brought it back after his discharge from the Army in World War II.

Officers of the Oak Park Historical Society are: Thomas Doane, president; Mrs. J. W. Wilson, first vice-president; J. C. Miller, second vice-president; Mrs. Irwin Maze, third vice-president; Mrs. Frank W. Anderman, secretary; Mrs. Louis Soyer, treasurer. Members of the board of trustees include: Frank Stevens, Mrs. George W. White, and Mrs. William Frey.

Richard B. Bradley addressed the Peoria Historical Society at its annual dinner meeting in May. His subject was "Fifty Years of Peoria's Yesterdays." Officers elected at the annual meeting are: Philip Z. Horton, president; Haskell Armstrong, vice-president; Mrs. Edna Reichelderfer, secretary; E. C. Bessler, treasurer; and H. S. Chichester, Ernest A. Grassel, and Myrtis Evans, directors.

The Piatt County Historical Society co-operated in the first joint Monticello-Bement July 4 celebration held this year in Monticello. A motion picture of Monticello's centennial in 1937 was shown, and a tape recording machine was on hand to capture anecdotes and stories of old-timers.

Officers of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County elected at the annual meeting, June 8, include: George Irwin, president; James W. Carrott, first vice-president; Oliver J. Williams, second vice-president; Mrs. William Wessels, corresponding secretary; William J. Dieterich, recording secretary; Julius Kespohl, auditor; and Mrs. Leaton Irwin, librarian. L. E. Emmons, Sr., William F. Gerdes, and W. Edwin Brown continue as trustees. Dr. E. B. Montgomery is manuscript chairman, and Mrs. James P. Nielson, membership chairman. Mrs. Edna Williams is curator.

Mr. Irwin's annual report told of the complete overhauling of the Historical Society's library with the professional assistance of Ruth Holum.

Officers of the Rock Island County Historical Society elected in May are: Claire V. Golden, president; Mrs. Carl Waldman, first vice-president; Clarence Skinner, second vice-president; Julia Mallette, secretary; Roy Ballard,

treasurer; Helen Marshall, archivist. The directors elected include: O. Fritiof Ander, Mrs. Taylor Drake, Georgia First, Louis Hauberg, Florence Liebbe, Charles D. Marshall, and P. J. Martin.

At the June meeting of the Saline County Historical Society Mrs. Scerial Thompson reported on the meeting of the State Society which was held in Freeport May 23 and 24. Colored slides from "Forever This Land!" were also shown, and the script accompanying the slides was read by Scerial Thompson. In July a short historical tour and basket picnic dinner made up the regular monthly meeting.

The Stephenson County Historical Museum arranged new exhibits in May and June. Among the special groups to visit the Museum was the Illinois State Historical Society, which held its spring meeting in Freeport. A part of the display included fifty pictures of Freeport and Stephenson County buildings, pioneers, houses, street scenes, etc.; the Milton Babcock collection of fire marks; and an exhibit of silverware manufactured in Freeport in the 1860's.

T. O. Mathews, president of the Fairfield Rotary Club, has named a historical society committee to investigate the need for a Wayne County Historical Society. Members of the committee are: Dr. Leslie W. Young, Kelley Loy, T. H. Marshall, Fred Bruce, and Peter G. Rapp.

Mrs. Frederick Dickinson reported at the May 14 meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society, on the origin of the name of the Chicago suburb, and Dr. Davies Lazear showed his Winnetka pictures.

On Sunday, May 18, the Society dedicated a marker for Patterson Tavern on the east side of Sheridan Road at Lloyd Place. The Patterson family lived on the site in the 1830's, probably the first residence in what later became Winnetka.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS OF STATE SOCIETY

Two names have been added to the life membership list of the Illinois State Historical Society since publication of the Summer *Journal*: N. G. Morgan, Sr., Salt Lake City, Utah, and Joseph Titan, Chicago. The life membership fee is still $50 while the annual dues were increased last year to $3.00. The total list is now sixty-two life members.

Journal of the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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(For further information see inside of back cover)

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STATE OF ILLINOIS
ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Governor

I4

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Photo by Herbert Georg Studio, Springfield

CARL SANDBURG, A PORTRAIT BY HIS YOUNGEST DAUGHTER

This painting by Helga Sandburg Golby was completed on April 20, 1949.

A TRIBUTE TO CARL SANDBURG

On January 6, 1953, Carl Sandburg will be seventy-five years of age and his thirtieth book will be published. This issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* recognizes his eminent contributions to Illinois and to the Nation. This tribute was suggested by Ralph G. Newman.

Carl was born and lived the first third of his life in Galesburg, Illinois, and an equal time in and near Chicago. Out of grammar school at thirteen, his teens were a series of jobs demanding much physical labor.

At twenty the call to service in the Spanish-American War brought enlistment in Company C, Sixth Illinois Volunteers, with service in Puerto Rico and his first writing as war correspondent for the *Galesburg Evening Mail.* Home from the war in the fall of 1898, Carl entered Lombard College in Galesburg at the age of twenty. Seven years out of grade school, he by-passed high school.

He took the West Point examinations at the end of the year, but failed in grammar and mathematics. Some three more years at Lombard were financed with work as a janitor and as a member of the fire department. With the aid of Professor Philip Green Wright his first poetry, *In Reckless Ecstasy,* was privately printed in 1904.

Briefly in 1907 he worked as associate editor of *The Lyceumite* in Chicago, then moved on to Milwaukee where he met and married Lilian Steichen, June 15, 1908. After two years (1910-1912) as secretary to the mayor of Milwaukee and service on several newspapers, he returned to Chicago where short periods with several journals were concluded in 1917 when the *Day Book* ceased publication. In May, 1919, began thirteen uninterrupted years on the staff of the *Chicago Daily News.* Industrious and talented, he wrote more than a dozen books—poetry, books for children, a book of songs, and biographies—during these years. Best known and admired today is probably *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years,* published in 1926.

Writing the four volumes of *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* took most of the 1930's. This momentous biography brought many honors, but no rest for Sandburg. Since 1939 six more books carry his name, including a thousand-page novel, *Remembrance Rock,* begun at sixty-five and completed at age seventy; *The Lincoln Collector,* the story of the great Oliver R. Barrett Collection of Lincolniana; *Complete Poems,* filling nearly 700 pages; and with his seventy-fifth birthday, the autobiographical *Always the Young Strangers.*

HARRY E. PRATT

A FRIEND AND ADMIRER

By ADLAI E. STEVENSON

IN THE long trek that Carl Sandburg made in gathering material for his *Prairie Years,* I well recall his stopover in Bloomington, where he visited and interviewed my father, Lewis Green Stevenson. Among others whom he wished especially to meet in Bloomington was ex-Governor Joseph W. Fifer, who bore—and not without some pride—the nickname "Private Joe," because of gallant but unpretending service in the Civil War. Joe Fifer loved good whiskey, and, having arranged a meeting with him, my father went to the cellar and brought up a pint of rare Bourbon, which he had kept under lock and key for many years.

Armed with the whiskey, Carl and my father set forth for Governor Fifer's, confident that it would stir his recollections, and assured that he would share it with them. Sight of the whiskey added to the warmth of Fifer's greeting, but when father presented him with the bottle, he placed it, uncorked, on his desk, where father and Sandburg cast frustrated glances at it throughout the interview.

Doors open hospitably to Carl Sandburg, wherever he may be, but he also brings trouble with locks. The day after the Fifer interview my father took him to a popular local restaurant, the Village Inn, to meet other Bloomington men. Soon after they arrived, Sandburg disappeared into the men's room, where his stay seemed unduly long. As the guests began to look concernedly at one another, loud poundings came from the direction of Sandburg's exit, with calls to be let out. Sev-

CARL SANDBURG AND ADLAI E. STEVENSON

At the dedication of the Governor Henry Horner Memorial in Grant Park, Chicago, on October 27, 1948.

eral minutes elapsed before local strength and ingenuity overcame a faulty lock, and the famous author emerged.

A similar mishap, of which Sandburg was unconscious at the time, occurred when Carl was staying at the Executive Mansion in Springfield. It was during this visit that my young son, John Fell Stevenson, and a little friend, decided to try out the Mansion elevator, which runs between the basement offices and the Governor's bedroom where Sandburg was sleeping. When the two boys disembarked at the bedroom they were astonished to see a tousled gray head on the pillow. Jumping hastily back into the elevator, they pushed the wrong button and the cantankerous machine got stuck, trapping them between floors. Carl slept on peacefully throughout the resulting furor.

My acquaintance with Carl Sandburg now extends through many years. Among my most pleasant recollections are parties in Chicago in the twenties and thirties where I listened to him sing from his songbag to the inimitable accompaniment of his guitar, and happy evenings with him and the late Lloyd Lewis, where anecdotes, Lincoln and music took us far into the night.

Having been long a friend and great admirer of Carl Sandburg, I was proud and honored when he came to Springfield to speak at my inauguration as Governor in January, 1949.

FROM SANDBURG'S SPEECH AT STEVENSON'S INAUGURATION

The following excerpt is from the speech delivered by Carl Sandburg at the Illinois State Armory in Springfield on January 10, 1949:

When you go through the speeches and letters of Lincoln you may find the word "responsibility" about as often as you find the word "freedom." He wanted freedom, for all men, everywhere. He has become a world figure, in a certain sense adopted by the whole Family of Man because of what he represented in the name of human freedom. And yet we will have to go far to find any human struggler so keenly and so sincerely weighted down by the burden of personal responsibility that he assumed on his own as a volunteer, as a citizen free and willing.

Perhaps here today, without saying a word about who is a patriot and who isn't and not forgetting the efflorescent Englishman who declared, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," perhaps we could hazard the statement that where there is a good and clean government, imperfect and yet measurably free from corruption, there are enough of men who are not afraid of either devotion or drudgery, who try to meet more than halfway that elusive mystery we call human freedom under democracy, and whose thoughts of personal gain are little or nothing alongside of their sense of history and their personal responsibility in the making of history. . . .

The incoming Governor of this day of January 10, 1949 knows well that . . . predictions as to what will happen across his four-year term are not wanted so much as good wishes, good will and prayers. . . . There can be prayers that to his support will come, in office and out of office, men of the volunteer spirit, free and willing citizens, men unafraid of either devotion or drudgery, men who know that freedom always has a cost and always goes straight back with inexorable connection to personal responsibility.

THE GALESBURG BIRTHPLACE

By ADDA GEORGE

"A *room* built 'round a *book*, you say?" Yes, there is such a room in Galesburg, Illinois. It is a gift from the State of Illinois to Carl Sandburg's tiny three-room birthplace; and of course the principal feature of the room is Sandburg's great six-volume biography of Lincoln. The birthplace itself and its restoration are the subjects of this story.

A search for the Sandburg birthplace was begun by a woman returning to her home town after an absence of many years. When finally, with the aid of the poet's sister Mary, she found the little house near the railroad yards where his father had worked, it was in a very dilapidated condition, "a true nestling place of genius which delights to hatch its offspring in by-corners."

Under much protest from the Italian woman who owned the house, a plaque was hung by the front door, and a boulder was placed on the terrace. The woman sometimes hid the plaque and often tried to roll away the boulder. It was not until after her death that her son could offer a sixty-day option to buy.

A Carl Sandburg Association was quickly formed, to which all donors automatically belong. The project was incorporated as a non-profit-making, educational institution under the title "Sandburg Birthplace, Incorporated," so that all gifts were and are tax exempt. A fund-raising campaign

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Mrs. Adda George is the anonymous Sandburg enthusiast of this article. After the death of her husband, Professor John E. George of Northwestern University, she taught for a number of years in the Galesburg and Milwaukee schools, but since 1945 has given most of her time to the Sandburg birthplace.

began in 1945, and the purchase price was raised within the sixty days of the option. Without waiting for restoration funds, work on the house was begun in early spring. Sums large and small came steadily from high and low in every part of the nation, even school children's pennies and nickels rolled in. The woman who ferreted out the house advanced money from time to time to pay for building operations until funds should arrive, and they came in as fast as letters went out.

When the work of restoration began, siding, lath, and plaster were badly rotted. In fact, it was discovered that the original walls in the 1870's had had neither lath, plaster, nor siding, but had consisted of wide vertical boards which had been wallpapered many times. It was decided that the treasures already accumulating must be kept warm and dry; consequently lath, plaster, and siding were again used as in the house when found.

While work on the house was progressing, a fence of split hickory pickets was built around the yard, an old wooden pump of the 1870's was reinstalled, and old-fashioned plants and shrubs were returned to the borders. On the door of the small outbuilding in the rear was placed an amusing message on the coming of the sanitary system to Galesburg from *They Broke the Prairie,* written in Earnest Elmo Calkins' own hand. Children from nearby Douglas School, which Sandburg had attended, worked often in the yard while all this was going on.

The birthplace contains a good many belongings of the Sandburg family, in use when Sandburg was a boy. From them came the family Bible, some wooden Bishop Hill chairs, wall brackets, dishes and kitchen utensils. The stereoscope used by Sandburg in selling these parlor "viewers" during his summer vacations while a student at Lombard University interests the youngsters. The "rope bed" and the trundle bed with their handwoven coverlets dating back to the 1870's were gifts of pioneer families in and near Galesburg.

On the walls are old Swedish pictures of Sandburg's

SANDBURG'S BIRTHPLACE IN GALESBURG, ILLINOIS

Photos by Landon of Galesburg

LINCOLN ROOM OF THE GALESBURG BIRTHPLACE

father and mother, of Sandburg himself in groups from his boyhood days, pictures of the older Sandburg, of "Mr. and Mrs.," and of their children and grandchildren, some of the photographs by Mrs. Sandburg's famous brother, Edward Steichen. A few framed pages in the poet's own handwriting hang on the walls, his chiseled penmanship suggesting the power of this great man. There is also a wall panel containing the names of Life Members and Sustaining Members of the project, for it is not endowed and no admission fees are charged.

Well protected against fire are three rare booklets by Sandburg, written while he was a student at Lombard, and printed in Professor Wright's basement. All three are now valued collectors' items: *Incidentals, The Plaint of a Rose,* and *In Reckless Ecstasy.*

In the tiny bedroom are a fine radio-phonograph and Sandburg records of songs from *The American Songbag* and readings from *The People, Yes.* The little room which heard his first cry now echoes to his great tones. The old Remington typewriter on which he wrote about a fourth of *The Prairie Years* and some of the *Rootabaga Stories* is a gift from a Chicago collector.

Two items that attract a good deal of attention are a deed and a tax title deed to a home the family owned later in Galesburg. To one of these Sandburg's father had affixed "his mark" in 1894. Sandburg says of his Lincoln biography: "It is probably the only book ever written by a man whose *father* couldn't write his name, about a man whose *mother* couldn't write hers."

After the Sandburgs moved away from the birthplace, an addition was built at the rear of the house. When the original house was restored, this addition was left standing for storage purposes, since there was not room for the treasures that had been gathered. The late Senator Wallace Thompson of Galesburg was approached about securing an appropriation from

the state legislature to restore this addition as a Lincoln Room. Through his influence, a generous appropriation was secured which paid for the work of restoration and for the Lincoln-period pine furnishings. This Lincoln Room is built around Sandburg's six-volume biography, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* and *The War Years.*

The walls of this room are of knotty pine, and the fireplace and chimney are of handmade brick from an old Galesburg house which was one of the stations of the "Underground Railroad." Over the mantel is a fine study of Lincoln pictured under the open sky by the artist N. C. Wyeth, a gift of his widow to the Lincoln Room. On shelves by the fireplace are a pitcher and platter given by Lincoln to his friends Elizabeth Burner and Isaac Gulliher on their wedding day in New Salem in 1831. These had been inherited by descendants of the Gullihers living in Knoxville and Galesburg. The iron "grease lamp" hanging by the fireplace was given by the Lincolns to their neighbors, the Samuel Mains, when the Lincolns left Indiana for Illinois, and then came into the possession of the Donald Wallace family.

Against one wall is an old pine desk from the Bishop Hill Swedish settlement; and on it rests a model of an old covered wagon by Earnest Elmo Calkins. Over it hangs an old rifle of prairie-wagon days. On another wall hangs a gift from Oliver R. Barrett's famous Lincoln collection, sent by him shortly before his death. It is an 1863 call for additional troops from the State of Massachusetts, signed by Lincoln.

The dedication of the birthplace occurred on October 7, 1946, anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Galesburg. There were two ceremonies, one out-of-doors in the afternoon, the crowd standing in the street in front of the cottage; and the other in the evening in the banquet hall of Hotel Custer.

In the afternoon, local speakers and others paid high tribute to Galesburg's famous son. Speakers included Richard

V. Lindsey, Kenneth Peel, Charles A. Cobb, Ralph G. Newman, Quincy Wright, and John L. Conger.

The evening program brought enthusiasts from many distant places. The principal address was by Marshall Field, who spoke with deep feeling on "The Importance of Carl Sandburg." Fanny Butcher of the *Chicago Tribune* reminisced brilliantly about Sandburg's startling appearance in the literary world with his *Chicago Poems.* Professor Quincy Wright, speaking of Sandburg's Lombard days, told how he had trod out Sandburg's first printed booklets on a foot press in the basement of the Wright home. Harry Hansen of the *New York World-Telegram,* the Rev. Alan Jenkins, Professor Hermann Muelder, and Ralph Newman, paid sincere and heart-warming tributes. Telegrams from distinguished people were read during the dinner.

The dedication of the Lincoln Room on May 30, 1949, brought a crowd that filled the street. Speakers stood on the small front steps of the birthplace, and loud speakers enabled those at a distance to hear. The Rev. Mr. Jenkins, a Sandburg scholar of long standing, spoke on "Prairie Prophets," binding the Lincoln Room to the birthplace in memorable fashion. Dr. Jay Monaghan, then State Historian, gave a notable address on Lincoln and represented Governor Adlai Stevenson in presenting this gift of the State of Illinois. Mayor Ralph B. Johnson responded for the city. These are only a few high spots about the birthplace and its restoration. One last note: Just inside the front door of the cottage is this tribute to Sandburg, by Stephen Vincent Benét:

> He came to us from the people whom Lincoln loved because there were so many of them, and through all of his life, in verse and prose, he has spoken of and for the people. A great American, we have just reason to be proud that he has lived and written in our time.

Galesburgers add: *"and in our town!"*

Photo by Arthur Witman, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

Sandburg at the Illinois State Historical Library

At the dedication of the Horner-Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library, February 12, 1941, Carl Sandburg studied some of the manuscripts in the Library's collection. He is holding the diary of Henry C. Latham of Springfield which tells of Lincoln's departure from the city on February 11, 1861.

LOMBARD MEMORIES

By QUINCY WRIGHT

I HAVE known Carl Sandburg since the time he entered Lombard College soon after his return from service in the Spanish-American War. My father, Philip Green Wright, taught mathematics, astronomy, economics, and English composition at the college and Carl was frequently around our house talking with father about Walt Whitman and other subjects in the field of literature. They also discoursed on such subjects as economic reform and socialism. Carl's interest did not extend into mathematics as I recall it, though I think he sometimes looked at the stars through our telescope.

Carl was at that time husky in appearance, with black hair giving an impression of robustness rather than poetic insight. After he left Lombard about 1902, and Galesburg a few years later, I didn't see him for nearly a quarter of a century and at once noticed the effect which a literary life had had on him. The white-haired man with a penetrating look seemed very different from the student I had known.

While at Lombard he played basketball on a winning team and participated in other sports and in the "reading circle" at which father and mother entertained literarily inclined students on Sunday evenings. They read aloud from Kipling, Turgenev, and Mark Twain, to suit all tastes. He also belonged to the "Poor Writers' Club," a more select group of four or five budding literary artists that met with father to

Quincy Wright graduated at Lombard in 1912, received an honorary degree there in 1923, was professor of political science at the University of Chicago, 1923-1931, and professor of international law, 1931—.

read to one another their own productions. He also took part in a musical extravaganza called "The Cannibal Converts," written by my father and produced at the local opera house. The theme concerned a trip by a group of Lombard students in a football kicked off by "Longpunt" to the Philippine Islands with the object of missionary enterprise in that newly acquired territory. Some mistake in mathematical calculations resulted in the gigantic football missing its mark and landing in the cannibal islands. There Carl Sandburg, dressed in shells and much lampblack, talked in an unintelligible language. One of the students, however, was eventually able to interpret it. Instead of eating their aerial visitors, after cooking them in the great pot which was bubbling in the middle of the stage, the cannibals were persuaded to come to Lombard to learn the ways of civilization.

A year after this, in 1901, Carl, who was then known as Charles August, or "Cully," Sandburg, became editing manager of the college year book, called that year *The Cannibal.* Frederick Dickinson, who became a Chicago lawyer, was managing editor and Hubert Perrine the artist. Carl's contributions to this may have been his first published work.

Soon after, however, his first published book appeared, entitled *In Reckless Ecstasy.* It was a brochure of fifty pages printed on the 10x15 Gordon press with Caslon Old Face type which operated in our basement under the exalted title of "The Asgard Press." Father had been a printer in his youth and thought it would do us boys good to learn the trade. So we set type and kicked the press and did the college printing, and Carl roamed around the establishment watching his youthful efforts being set up. Father wrote the introduction to *In Reckless Ecstasy* and Carl reciprocated by writing the introduction to a similar book of father's verses called *The Dial of the Heart.* I believe *In Reckless Ecstasy* is now a collector's item. Only fifty copies were printed, bound in cardboard covers and put together with ribbon. Later the Asgard Press produced

a booklet of comments by Carl called *Incidentals* and a poem elegantly got out with hand-painted roses on the cover, called *The Plaint of a Rose.*

These books were published a few years after Carl left Lombard. He did not graduate, though he later received an honorary degree from the institution. He gained experience selling stereoscopic pictures and working for a time in the Galesburg fire department. He took this job because it gave him time to read between the infrequent fires. I can remember seeing him sitting in front of the building, leaning back in a chair and reading as I passed on my way to school.

His interest in poetry and literature, inspired by my father during the Lombard years, was further stimulated by a job as assistant to the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee and for many years as reporter on the *Chicago Daily News.* He was always democratic in his attitudes and refused to join a fraternity but assisted in organizing the non-fraternity people on the campus in a club dubbed, by my father, "The Barbarians" in contradistinction to "The Greeks." He kept up a correspondence with my father until the latter's death in 1934, and wrote a biography of him in the *Dictionary of American Biography.*

During the late 1920's when I was teaching at the University of Chicago I occasionally saw Carl Sandburg and heard him sing folk songs and strum the guitar. I also remember particularly the occasion of his seventieth birthday when Lloyd Lewis and other Chicago friends, newspaper and otherwise, gathered to do him honor. I once visited his home in Harbert, Michigan, and viewed the Toggenburg and black Nubian goats which his wife and daughters fancied, and saw the thousands of newspaper clippings about Lincoln on the walls. This was just after he had finished the *War Years.* I was present too, when the three-room birthplace in Galesburg was dedicated. There was a dinner in the Custer Hotel and some talks, one by Marshall Field, at the birthplace. The preservation of this place which, along with the plaque of the Lincoln-Douglas

Debate of 1858 on Knox' Old Main, makes Galesburg famous, was due to the energy of Mrs. Adda George, under whom I studied in high school.

I am afraid that these memories are rather disconnected but perhaps I could add just one more: that of his speech in Springfield when Stevenson was inaugurated as Governor. It was a notable address with some poetry added and indicated his nose for rising statesmen. This reminds me of when we were walking on the sands at Harbert in the spring of 1940 and he said he thought Roosevelt would run for a third term and be elected. It was the first time I had heard that suggestion.

Photo by Bauman, Galesburg

TWO OF THE EARLIER SANDBURG PHOTOGRAPHS

The picture at the left, of Carl Sandburg and his mother, Mrs. Clara Mathilda Anderson Sandburg, was taken in the yard at his Elmhurst home in 1926, the year of her death. The one on the right was taken in 1895 on his "off day" as porter at the Union Hotel barber shop in Galesburg.

MENTOR AND FIRST PUBLISHER

By ALAN JENKINS

ASIDE from undergraduate contributions to the *Lombard Review* (Sandburg attended Lombard College, Galesburg, Illinois, from 1898 to 1902), and some verses in the November, 1902, issue of *The Thistle,* the first of Carl Sandburg's writings to know print appeared in three pocket-size booklets: *In Reckless Ecstasy* (1904), *The Plaint of a Rose* (1904), and *Incidentals* (about 1905). The printing was done by Professor Philip Green Wright of the college on a press in the basement of his home. A disciple of William Morris, Wright did a craftsman's job of attractively printing and binding his former student's writings.

Wright was Sandburg's literary and spiritual mentor as well as first publisher. Sandburg has written (in a memorial brochure printed for private distribution by Wright's family):

"Philip Green Wright will always be a momentous figure to me . . . . I had four years of almost daily contact with him at college, for many years visited him as often as possible, and there was never a time when he did not deepen whatever of reverence I had for the human mind . . . . He was at home in either the hard-as-nails utilitarian fields or in the realms of the ethereal and insoluble. He was a great man and teacher."

For an outline of Wright's colorful, achievement-packed career (trained as a civil engineer, he taught in a half-dozen college departments, became a U. S. government tariff expert)

Alan Jenkins, pastor of Central Congregational Church, Galesburg, Illinois, is writing a biography of Sandburg.

the reader is referred to Sandburg's sketch of Wright in *The Dictionary of American Biography.*

One of Wright's English courses at Lombard required the writing of daily themes. So impressed was he in the academic year 1898-1899 by the daily literary efforts of three students —Sandburg, Athol Brown, and Howard Lauer, that he invited them to meet with him in an informal literary group at his home on Sunday afternoons. "We called ourselves," he wrote in the foreword to *In Reckless Ecstasy,* "the Poor Writers' Club . . . . At these meetings we read for our mutual edification and criticism our own productions in prose and verse . . . ." Some of the Sandburg pieces, prose and verse, which Wright, as editor-publisher, selected for inclusion in the thirty-nine-page *In Reckless Ecstasy* were first read and talked over in the Poor Writers' Club.

Wright was the kind of English teacher who could creatively listen, who aimed not to prescribe subject and form but simply to encourage individuality and aptness of expression. "He seemingly only sought," Athol Brown has written me, "to stir us into action in order to see what would happen." While Wright instructed in prosody, verse analysis, according to Brown, was always subordinated to literary appreciation.

Literary reasons were not the only ones which drew Sandburg to his English professor. Equally important was Wright's intense social consciousness. Sandburg had entered college after much rough-and-tumble experience in the economic world. In a seven-year period of odd jobs (from grade school graduation in 1891 to enlistment in the Spanish-American War) he had sampled the insecurities and economic ordeals of urban workers and farmers alike in an era when effective labor and farm organizations were just getting started and when social controls had yet to be forged for the great corporations. In his mid-teens he had warmed to Bryan's "common man" orations and to the social justice aims of John P. Altgeld. Early in life he had felt the spell of the tall

humanitarian who had debated in Galesburg in 1858 and who had become President. In Wright Sandburg rejoiced to find a kindred spirit politically, a campus apostle of economic reform. Moreover, along with other idealists of the late 1890's and early 1900's, Wright was attractive for his political optimism. The new century would see a new social order! Wright helped Sandburg to find early those humanitarian horizons and final social optimism which characterize *The People, Yes.* A Socialist during Sandburg's college days, Wright in later life (it is interesting to note the parallel fact in Sandburg's life) became a political independent.

In addition to *Elizur Wright: The Father of Life Insurance,* a first-class biography (in collaboration with Mrs. Wright) of his grandfather, and besides many studies in economics, Wright published four collections of his own verses. Sandburg wrote forewords for two—*The Dial of the Heart* (1904) and *The Dreamer* (1906), both printed on Wright's own press. The narrative poems, mainly political, are in blank verse; the lyrics are rhymed and follow traditional forms. "The Cry of the Underlings," which appeared in *The Dreamer,* became a favorite with the labor press, traveling far via reprints.

Along with social reform, a new, widespread interest in Lincoln the man, as opposed to Lincoln the myth, was "in the air" during Sandburg's college days. Wright was among those who were learning to see Lincoln as not only exemplary but as representative and prophetic, as not only a shaper of the "American dream" but as one of its products. Wright's early academic career had coincided with the first great period in Lincoln research and writing. He was doing graduate work at Harvard (1886-1887) when the "official biography" by Nicolay and Hay began running serially in *Century Magazine.* He was in his second year at Lombard (1894) when the same writers brought out their two-volume *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln.* The following year Ida M. Tarbell began

deeply to stir the national imagination with the serializing o her Lincoln studies in *McClure's Magazine*. Over the year Wright followed with growing appreciation the evolving Lincoln portrait; by the time Sandburg enrolled at Lombard his English teacher was talking Lincoln *the man*. In the memorial brochure already mentioned, John C. Weigel, Lombard '08, recalled: "Through him [Wright] I first gained a picture of the real Abraham Lincoln, the kind of human being Carl Sandburg has given us in *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*." Added Weigel, apostrophizing the poet-biographer: "As I read it [*The Prairie Years*], Carl Sandburg, I wondered if even you know how much of Philip Green Wright shines through the rare beauty of your precious book!" Lacking direct testimony from Sandburg on this point, we can only infer that, in four years of intimate association, he must have found some guidance from Wright in the maturing of his understanding of Lincoln.

Student Sandburg and Wright were both enthusiastic readers of John Ruskin (in his third year at college Sandburg gave a prize-winning oration on Ruskin). Both found bracing the oracular moralizings of Elbert Hubbard (one summer Sandburg, while selling stereoscopic views, called upon "the sage" in East Aurora, taking a letter of introduction from Professor Wright). Ruskin, Hubbard, Pater, Tolstoi, Carlyle, Emerson, Shakespeare, Kipling, and Whitman were, according to Athol Brown and others, among the wide variety of writers singled out by Wright for special classroom attention.

One surmises that the full extent of Wright's influence on Sandburg will never be known, that it is indeed beyond the reach of Sandburg's own introspection, and that such chronicling as is here attempted can at best only vaguely symbolize an influence that went soul-deep, affecting motive and desire. "Omnivorous curiosities, idealism, deep sympathy for the oppressed, hatred of social injustice and abuse of power, modesty"—these were among Wright's traits as listed in the

memorial brochure. In an article in the Knox College *Siwasher* for October, 1934, John C. Weigel wrote:

> Philip Green Wright was the only man I have ever known who, by the many facets of his genius, lent credibility to the many-sided personalities of the Renaissance. Those who knew only the economist of later years for his internationally distinguished researches on sugar tariffs and vegetable and mineral oils can have only the faintest notion of what his extraordinary mind, coupled with his quiet enthusiasms and gentle, encouraging friendship, meant to those of us who as his students came under his amazing spell.

Carl Sandburg, who has spoken to me of Wright as "a prairie Leonardo da Vinci," concurs in this estimate.

Wright was at heart a poet. "I have always been a dreamer," he wrote, "whenever I have been able for a few days to free myself from care and hurry, I have heard the voice of my first love whispering me to write. And my thoughts and emotions have turned themselves into verse." Finding no welcome in the magazines, he early resigned himself to the private printing of his poetry. Did he see in the "rough-featured, healthy boy, possessed of indomitable energy and buoyancy of spirit" (Wright's description of student Sandburg in the foreword to *In Reckless Ecstasy*) a poet who might go far? In one of his poems in *The Dreamer,* Wright wrote:

> He shall come, the great Singer, and men shall be filled with a new hope;
> He shall come, the great Singer, and the souls of men shall be caught up as in a strong wind . . . .

Would Sandburg be that singer? We may guess that such was Wright's secret hope.

CARL SANDBURG AT THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL

The photograph on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* was taken when Carl Sandburg visited the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C., on February 12, 1952—as he has done every year since the Memorial was dedicated in 1922. The photographer who made such effective use of the Daniel Chester French statue of Lincoln as a background was Arthur Ellis of the staff of the *Washington Post.*

A PAIR OF "DREAMERS"

By C. E. VAN NORMAN

CARL SANDBURG is a "collector's author"—not all fine writers are. A perfect gem of a rare book, and one with great interest for the Sandburg collector, is *The Dreamer*, a small volume of poems by Philip Green Wright with a foreword by Charles A. Sandburg. Numbering fifty-three pages it was printed in Galesburg, Illinois, in 1906 by the Asgard Press.

My first *Dreamer* was acquired several years ago. An interest in books printed in Galesburg and in books written by authors who had lived in Galesburg was with me from earlier Knox College days. The writer of the poems, Philip Green Wright, I did not know; and I was not sure that Charles A. Sandburg who wrote the two-page foreword was Carl Sandburg, poet and Lincoln man. The Asgard Press imprint was also new to me, and there was a fascination about it. Inquiry at several local printing shops brought no information concerning such a press. And it was some time before I learned the Asgard Press had been the basement press in the home of Lombard Professor Philip Green Wright, a fine teacher and a man who greatly inspired Carl Sandburg.

On this private press were printed small editions of three works by the able poet, Wright, and three by his promising former scholar, Sandburg. Besides *The Dreamer* were printed Wright's *The Dial of the Heart* and *A Baker's Dozen for a Few Score Friends*. From this press came in 1904 that Sand-

C. E. Van Norman, owner of the Van Norman Book Company, Galesburg, Illinois, has acquired a fine collection of Sandburgiana.

burg *Tamerlane* under the name, *In Reckless Ecstasy;* and later, *The Plaint of a Rose* and *Incidentals.*

The Dreamer apparently is the only one of these books to be "dignified" by a cloth binding, the others appearing in paper covers. It is a small volume, printed on fine Alexandra paper, with the leaves approximately four by seven inches, uncut excepting the bottom edges. The cloth binding is scarlet and lettering on the front cover and spine is black.

A collector's heart skips a beat when a second copy of a scarce book comes to light and proves not to be an identical twin. When my second *Dreamer* turned up, there was no doubt it was different, for it was bound in tan boards, with light brown lettering, and protected by a slip-case of light boards to which was attached a small paper label reading "The Dreamer." The contents of the two copies are alike but "place finder" silk ribbons differ in color: one is red and the other is white.

Take your choice of binding, *The Dreamer* is a neat volume. In its format is the influence of William Morris or of Elbert Hubbard; six lines immediately following a half-title being from "A Dream of John Ball" hint toward Morris. These lines Wright offers as he says "by way of a condiment." Following the title-page come words of dedication by Wright:

> To dreamers who see the solid earth
> A fiction of the years,
> Who hear in Chicago's wheat pit
> The music of the spheres:
> And when men say, "'Tis final,
> This dogma, custom, style
> Is like the rock"—gaze over them
> To the phantom hills, and smile.

Then comes the foreword by Sandburg in which he says: "The use of poetry and the source of poetry are themes eternal. . . . He who planned the stars and shut up the sea with doors has not forgotten to give us dreamers . . ."

Under "Salted Almonds" is an apology by Wright, necessary he feels because of criticisms of his former volume, *The Dial of the Heart,* by persons who did not understand the plan of the book and failed to read the succession of poems as the dial of a man's heart. He adds that in this new volume, "There is the dial of the world's heart." There follow poems on the dreamer, the queen, college girl, and teacher, musician, the captain of industry, the cry of underlings, the socialist, and the poet. "Each social era has its dominating ideal and type . . . around whom the other persons of the drama move and play their little parts." There are dreamers and poets in all eras who feel "world-current flowing by and reveal its direction and destiny." The lesson of the book is one of "wider charity" and "a deeper sense of brotherhood."

And from Sandburg's foreword again: "Dream with the dreamer herein his dreams. Some day we may weave them into realities, for much of life is of such stuff as dreamers are made of." Dream upon dream, and a pair of dreamers, woven together, inextricably woven together in printer's ink in a collector's pair of *Dreamers.*

WHAT THE BIOGRAPHER FINDS IN LINCOLN

Lloyd Lewis, in his review of *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years,* in the *New York Herald Tribune Books* for December 3, 1939, wrote:

> Lincoln was in himself so large a mirror of mankind that every biographer finds in him the thing he admires most, hence lawyers think Lincoln's legal side the thing that made him great, soldiers think his education in handling soldiers the main thing in his fame, preachers say it was his exalted moral sense, and Sandburg the writer, while giving the most catholic of evaluations to date, would seem, by his emphasis, to feel that it was as a user of words that Lincoln shone the brightest. And the evidence goes far to support such a view.
>
> To read Sandburg's detailed description of how Lincoln wrote his most renowned papers, speeches and letters, of what was in the air at the moment, is as absorbing as it would be suddenly to come across the revelation of just how Shakespeare wrote *Hamlet.*

A FOLKSY, FRIENDLY FELLOW

By PAUL JORDAN-SMITH

I FIRST heard of Carl Sandburg through one of the faculty at Lombard, the late Philip Green Wright—one of the most inspiring (and the friendliest) teachers I had in my undergraduate days. Wright was always urging his students to extra-curricular activity, and his prime purpose was to get beginning writers to print their stuff with their own hands. In the basement of his home he had a very good, simple press, and the little books and pamphlets issued therefrom bore the impress, "The Asgard Press."

He had inspired Sandburg (who then signed himself Charles A. Sandburg) to set up, or watch the printing of, at least two pamphlets,[1] one of which Wright gave me. It was a prose poem thing, called *Incidentals*. Along with that he gave me a copy of his own book of verse, *The Dreamer,* which had a foreword by Sandburg. The last was dated 1906. It was given me in 1907.

At that time Sandburg had written a number of things for a little Chicago magazine called *Tomorrow* (edited by Parker H. Sercombe), and Wright gave me copies of that magazine with the remark that while the *magazine* was a little queer, Sandburg showed great promise of being a major literary figure.

I never turned printer, but greatly admiring both Wright

[1] Quincy Wright, on page 308, says, "Carl roamed around the establishment watching his youthful efforts being set up."

Paul Jordan-Smith has been literary editor of the Los Angeles Times *since* 1933.

and Sandburg, I followed Wright's suggestion and called on Sandburg when I first went to Chicago (1910). He worked then on the *Daily Socialist*. A year or so later I called at his office when he was secretary to Emil Seidel, then mayor of Milwaukee.

In those days Sandburg's hair was black as a crow's wing, but he was the same folksy, friendly fellow he has remained down the years. He seemed to me then as now, earthy, honest, loving and lovable.

Photo by H. A. Berens, Elmhurst, 1952

THE SANDBURGS' ELMHURST HOME

Carl Sandburg lived in this house at 331 South York Street, Elmhurst, Illinois, from 1918 to the late 1920's. His desk, at which he wrote some of *The Prairie Years*, the *Rootabaga* stories, and many of his poems, stood in front of the double window overlooking the summer kitchen at the right.

The main part of this home, which the Sandburgs called "Happiness House," was built in 1857 by Peter Torode and is one of the oldest buildings in the Chicago suburb. The one-story summer kitchen was built on another location in the 1840's and served originally as the first schoolhouse in Cottage Hill (now Elmhurst). The house has sixty-five windows and thirty-seven doors.

AND THE *CHICAGO DAILY NEWS*

By HARRY HANSEN

EVER since Carl Sandburg became a national figure students of our literary history and others interested in the Chicago School have wondered what he was like when he worked for the *Chicago Daily News*. When asked, I always reply that he was then exactly as he is today. Of all the authors with whom I grew up, so to speak, he has changed least in physical appearance, in mental attitude, and in basic sympathy with human beings.

Thirty years ago Carl had the same unruly shock of hair over his forehead, the same attitude of leaning forward to catch a significant remark, the same deliberate manner of winding up a sentence to an explosive laugh at the end. I suppose his hair is whiter now, but his features are hardly less lined than they were then. He is still tremendously interested in many subjects, and as much concerned with the welfare of the common man as ever. A student once asked if I did not agree that Carl had become conservative in his views with the years, and I replied that many of the reforms that Carl, and his friend Gene Debs, had advocated years ago, were now the boast of many conservatives, but I thought Carl was still earnestly looking ahead, far beyond their line of vision.

The first time I heard of Carl was before either of us was associated with the *Chicago Daily News*. Maurice Browne,

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Harry Hansen, literary editor of the Chicago Daily News, *1920-1926;* New York World, *1926-1931; and* New York World-Telegram, *1931-1948, is the author of* Midwest Portraits, *the first book to contain a chapter on Sandburg, and of* Carl Sandburg, the Man and His Poetry.

who was sending electric shocks through intellectual Chicago by his brilliant lectures on Hardy, Shaw, Nietzsche and other rebels, remarked to Arthur Davison Ficke in my presence that next Sunday they must get together, because Carl Sandburg was coming in from Galesburg. My antennae always have been in good working order, and here I recognized the name as something specially to be remembered. I did not meet Carl then, but when I read "Chicago" I knew what the name meant to me. I had found expressed something I had dimly apprehended. As a statement of the fact of existence, the basic impulses, of a vast, confusing city, "Chicago" is incomparable. It made a tremendous impact on my emotions. It made me hear the hooting of tugs on the river, the grinding wheels of the elevated trains, the slam-bang of trolley trucks on the streets. From that moment I was a recruit for the literary revolt that brought life back to over-cultivated fields.

When I met Carl he was both grave and friendly. I had entered the *Daily News* by the reporters' door, but if Carl had a desk in that long, narrow local room I never found it out. He was only visible at odd times, turning in copy that had matured in Milwaukee, Blue Island, Herrin, the Black Belt. Carl had a knowledge of labor activities and most of his copy dealt with that. Sometimes he would go to a convention and not show up for days. At that time labor news was not an important item. It didn't sell papers, nor did the doings of labor leaders move mountains. Carl was not limited to labor; he had other interests and assignments, but solving murder cases was not among them. Eventually Carl contributed a personal feature, his comment on whatever he cared to write about.

In all this Carl worked directly with the news editor, Henry Justin Smith. It is my belief that neither Carl nor I would have lasted long on the newspaper but for the unusual protection assured us by Smith's interest. No one has yet done justice in print to this extraordinary genius of the newspaper. Only Smith could have held the loyalty of so many men and

women who have achieved distinction in literature and journalism. I can't begin to enumerate them. They included Ben Hecht, Vincent Starrett, Robert J. Casey, John Gunther, Paul Scott Mowrer, William Hedges, Howard Blakeslee, Junius Wood, Sterling North, Keith Preston, Henry Blackman Sell, Rose Caylor, Meyer Levin, Lloyd Lewis, Howard Vincent O'Brien, Gene Morgan, and a number of others.

Smith was a tall, scholarly-looking man with a dark mustache, who never moved a muscle of his face when he spoke, and whose eyes always had a searching look. He seemed to know intuitively where writing talent lay hidden. He seemed to sense all literary undercurrents. When Carl read something he had set down on the typewriter and corrected with his thick black pencil, when Ben Hecht began writing as rapidly as he talked, when Keith Preston, Vincent Starrett and I drifted over to a bookshop two steps down from street level on West Washington Street, where Pat Covici and Billy McGee were publishing Hecht, Wallace Smith, Bodenheim, Samuel Putnam and the caricatures Gene Markey drew of all the gang, Henry Smith sat down at his typewriter in Wilmette, and making haste slowly, typed out *Deadlines,* and *Josslyn* and half a dozen other books, without the aid of notes, without fuss, without the birth pangs that, in others, attended the writing of a novel. There is something of all of us in Smith's stories —an ear, a leg, a whim and determination.

There is something of Carl, too, in Ben Hecht's *Erik Dorn*—a Swedish poet, I believe, who doesn't play a very virtuous part. Ben took characters where he found them, but he let his imagination play around recognizable personalities, and what emerged was not intended to be true to life. When I told Carl that Ben had written another novel, he asked, with a laugh: "Has he got another Swedish poet in it?"

Those were the days when Carl began to write about Lincoln. He spoke of the work modestly, usually mentioning a discovery he had made—what Lincoln said and did on a speci-

fic occasion—or what he had found in Oliver Barrett's office vault. Carl was always able to get time off to go lecturing; it helped out his pay, but it also gave him his great opportunity, to visit Lincoln collections in other cities and to meet men who could talk about Lincoln. He had other interests, too. The fragment of a folk song on the air would send Carl hunting for it. He gave these songs back to his audiences, often repeating them, but never failing to be interested in new ones.

He had then, and, I suppose has yet, the habit of clipping from the newspaper stray items of historical interest, or comment, that struck him as unusual. He always had some in his pockets. Whatever they were about, they acquired special significance when Carl read them. Carl dealt in specific incidents, not abstractions. This trait came into full use in the final volumes of the Lincoln biography. The heaping up of incident, the use of anecdote and the casual remark as a key to inner motives, sidelights out of a letter—the use of all this material as illustration is characteristic of Carl's biographical manner. It is also characteristic of his intense interest in all phases of human behavior.

One day a special writer for a New York magazine came to Chicago to appraise Midwestern writers. He asked for news about Chicago authors, and we talked about Sandburg. I happened to illustrate Carl's direct, informal manner with audiences as characteristic of our Midwestern revolt; we were breaking with embellishment and expressing ourselves in the plain ways that were native to us. I remarked, for instance, that unlike the British authors who were then overrunning the country, Carl did not lecture in a dinner coat. My New York friend had an opportunity to hear Carl that night at the University of Chicago. Imagine my surprise when his article appeared with the statement that while Midwesterners boasted that they were common clay, even Carl Sandburg, their most characteristic spokesman, sang folk songs in a dinner coat. I could not explain this error until I rememberd that Carl used

to wear a dark suit, and a little black bow tie, which, from a seat twenty rows back, might seem to be formal attire. Obviously the correspondent's eyes had misled him.

Sometimes Carl wrote an editorial for Charles H. Dennis; so did I. We were not asked to do so; we enjoyed expressing what moved us, even though the *Daily News* did not favor emphatic declarations. When William Dean Howells died, I sat down and wrote a piece about him. Howells had outlived his influence; realism had passed beyond his early ministrations, but he was a forerunner of the movement we were in and we respected him. Carl was also stirred to write something. So was Mr. Dennis. The editorial that appeared was a remarkable feat. It contained one of Carl's paragraphs; also, one of mine. The head and tail had been supplied by Mr. Dennis.

A friend of those years reminded me the other day of an incident I had forgotten. He said: "You may not recall this, but once, when I was in charge of a club in Milwaukee, I asked you to speak to us. You replied that you couldn't come, but would it be all right if you sent a substitute. And then you sent us Carl Sandburg—of all people!" He had considered Carl inaccessible, especially since the fee was small. But Carl was never inaccessible. He has given freely of his time to many causes, and often because he wanted to give someone a friendly hand. He has spoken for the people, and he remains one of them.

Industry, persistence and patience have played a large part in the flowering of Carl Sandburg's genius. No matter how hard he had to work there was always a singing inside him. When he writes poems he expresses the emotional side of American social history. When he sings folk songs he demonstrates the oral tradition by which simple people recall events. In small talk he puts things in a new way. I have known him to have plenty of time for talk, and because he has worked hard, he always has something to say.

BEGINNING OF A FRIENDSHIP

By FREDERIC BABCOCK

MY FIRST contact with Carl Sandburg took place nearly a quarter of a century ago. But it is still vivid in my memory.

I was a newcomer in Chicago, and, in addition to my editorial work on the *Tribune,* I was writing articles for the *Nation.* In one of these I attempted to tear apart—with a mixture of what I regarded as humor and sarcasm—one of the leading public figures of the day. Carl (whom I had never met) made this comment in his column in the *Chicago Daily News:* "Babcock writes like a gargoyle, not knowing whether to laugh or to weep."

Then, kindly soul that he was and is, he graciously sent me an apology. My reply read something like this: "Thanks for your note. It is deeply appreciated, even though entirely unnecessary. If you knew how grateful I, an unknown, was for that printed recognition by you, a celebrity, you would not have bothered to apologize."

Some months later, when the two of us were scheduled to address the annual dinner of the Walt Whitman Fellowship, we arranged to sit together and get acquainted. We have been warm friends ever since.

Frederic Babcock has been editor of the Chicago Tribune Magazine of Books *since its beginning in 1942.*

A COLD WALK WITH CARL

By ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

CARL SANDBURG and I became acquainted some thirty years ago because of our common interest in two somewhat unrelated subjects: Abraham Lincoln and motion pictures. I was then a movie critic and Sandburg was writing *The Prairie Years,* that extraordinarily appropriate fusing of history and poetry which was the very essence of Lincoln himself.

Some years later I suddenly decided to try to become a playwright and inevitably got around to attempting a play called *Abe Lincoln in Illinois.* When this play was published in book form, Carl very graciously consented to write a foreword for it. In that same year, 1939, appeared *The War Years,* the completion of Sandburg's monumental work. I had the honor of reviewing this for the Sunday book section of *The New York Times,* and shortly thereafter Carl arrived in New York and telephoned me, saying, "Come down to the Harcourt, Brace office and we'll go for a walk." This was delivered not as an amiable, sociable suggestion but as a military command, and I could only reply, "Yes, sir."

It was late in the afternoon of a bitter, cold December day when we started walking northward from East Forty-fifth Street. Carl is a fast walker, and although I have a long stride, my breath is short, particularly when I am bucking a strong and frigid headwind. By the time we had reached about the

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Robert E. Sherwood has won four Pulitzer Prizes for his writings which include Abe Lincoln in Illinois *and* Roosevelt and Hopkins.

middle of Central Park, somewhere around the Metropolitan Museum of Art, I began to wonder just how soon I should be compelled to break the news that I had had enough.

The walk had been conducted in almost total silence when I heard Carl start talking in his wonderful, measured tones, in which there was not the slightest evidence of breathlessness. I cannot presume to quote him directly. He was discussing the subject of life after death. I gathered that he had reached no firm conclusions about it but, for the sake of argument, he was prepared to concede that it exists. On that assumption, he said, let us suppose that the immortal spirit of Abraham Lincoln is hovering over the two of us as we walk through Central Park on this December evening. What does he think of the two of us?

I replied, feebly, "I know I should not be worrying about that if I were you."

He made no comment on that. We continued for awhile in silence and then I asked, "Still assuming that the immortal spirit of Abraham Lincoln is hovering over us, what do you think he would say to the proposition that you and I stop in someplace and have a drink?"

Several minutes passed while Carl Sandburg weighed this proposition. Finally he spoke—and now one could hear in his tones the resonance of thunder over the prairies: "I think he would approve."

So we repaired to 21 West Fifty-second Street and drank to the confusion of Adolf Hitler who was then embarked upon the conquest of the world.

The next time that I saw Carl was a year later when we were both in the White House working for the re-election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Carl Sandburg is one of our great natural resources and I am proud to have walked with him, no matter how many years it may have taken off my life.

CARL

By J. G. RANDALL

BILLY HERNDON once wrote: "Mr. Lincoln thought too much and did too much . . . to be crammed into an epigram or shot off with a single rocket." These words could also be said of Carl Sandburg.

To limn the portrait of Lincoln would take many hands and minds, and so it is with Carl. One must put together the statements of men all over America to have even the beginning of an appraisal of what Sandburg means in poetry, in the journalism of reporting, in the journalism of the column, in history, in biography, and in the vibrant world of American song. There occasionally arises among us one who embodies the fulfillment of American democracy, while at the same time he is the spokesman of democracy. Such a man was Lincoln, and such a man is Sandburg. In his life and achievement he stands as the proof, the very certificate, of democracy. He is also the eloquent bard and interpreter of what is distinctive in American life.

He is as American as "Corn Huskers," or Galesburg, or *The Prairie Years,* or *Remembrance Rock.* That book has been called a novel, an epic, and a sermon. Carl himself has called it "American Timesweep." It suggests the sweep of America down the centuries. It is for each reader to state for himself what the book means. Among other things it means American history as no one else has handled it, close-up human realities

J. G. Randall, professor of history emeritus, University of Illinois, is the author of several books on Lincoln, including three volumes of Lincoln the President.

in place of stuffy tomes, change and crisis through the generations, the American credo with force and noble sentiment but without ballyhoo, passages of pure beauty, renderings of great moments in our national life, personal situations poignantly portrayed, the living past recreated in a special and unique medium. It is a rugged book and an eloquent one—not a book of heroics, but of brave periods brought close to the reader in the life and breath of men and women as they lived and felt.

Carl is an original. Set patterns are not his guide nor his hindrance. He does not need to follow any form book. In his reporting days the slogan was: "Print Sandburg as is."

It is fortunate that he has lived in an age of radio and of sound recording. His diction and word selection have a kind of wizardry, and this can be appreciated by reading him, but it is also essential to hear him. It has been said that "he speaks in rhythm." As one listens there is a rise and fall, a cadence, an *andante* and *crescendo* that are as much a part of him as that unruly lock of hair that keeps slipping over his brow. The portrait of the man is not complete without the living voice.

A hundred visual flashes and impressions come to mind when Sandburg's name is mentioned. There is the unforgettable picture of Carl lecturing to an audience, filling the auditorium with volleys of sound and waves of laughter or playing softly on tender and deeper emotions. The recollection may be of the poet at his Harbert, Michigan, home, walking the beach of the "Big Lake of the Booming Rollers." Or it may be Carl standing in the glorious October of 1949 at New Salem and rising to the unusual occasion with alternating humor, reminiscence, Lincolnian comment, readings, and timely words on America's responsibilities. Having done all this he remarked: "I clean forgot about this guitar." Then, with background of guitar chords, came that virile, resonant baritone that has made him the most beloved singer of American folk songs.

In the summer of 1947, one minute after midnight, in the

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Following his lecture in April, 1950, Sandburg was photographed with Professor of Law Edward W. Cleary, chairman of the University of Illinois committee on lectures (center), and Historian J. G. Randall.

first moments of July 26, the date legally fixed for the opening of the Lincoln papers after many years of guardianship and closure to investigators, came an instant of special meaning. One was reminded of the words of Keats, "On First Looking Into Chapman's Homer":

> Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
> When a new planet swims into his ken. . . .

Assembled Lincoln "fans"—or specialists, or investigators, or devotees—had then an experience never to be repeated. When, following the opening of the locked safes, the Lincoln searchers on that memorable night in the Library of Congress plunged into the papers—dashing from volumes to index and back to volumes (some with the uneasy realization that a national broadcast was coming up that afternoon)—when all this was happening, it was Carl who filled the night hours with his rich humor and booming laugh. It was Carl also

who did the best job of spot reporting for that opening. Leaving the Library of Congress in the wee small hours of the night—the best hours for Carl—he got in his "copy." On the evening of that day people in the cities, getting their Sunday paper after dinner, found the unique Sandburg account of what happened. Carl was again the reporter as in former days. When in the public ceremony that afternoon Carl was presented to the audience, the immediate ovation he received was rousing, spontaneous, and soul warming. We knew then why children crowd in to get his autograph, why all America loves him, and why a soldier said that at camp all the boys knew Sandburg.

For a number of days Carl could be seen among the workers in the Library of Congress, hugely enjoying the original manuscripts that Lincoln had touched, chuckling and glowing as Lincoln's own day came to life with each new item. He was a picture for the artist's eye as the light fell on his rugged head and expressive features. In that summer he met for the first time a vivid personality who had remembered seeing Lincoln—dear Madame Dorothy Lamon Teillard, daughter of Ward H. Lamon. Again it was a picture to be remembered as the poet-biographer and the daughter of Lincoln's friend sat and talked, forgetful of the hours, in a rich, old-fashioned Georgetown drawing room.

Carl's quality is shown in homely, friendly things expressed in jeweled language, in *Rootabaga Stories,* in *The American Songbag,* and in deeply significant declarations that show his indignation at social injustice. In his own incomparable idiom he has given us Lincoln, and he has done it in a way that no other biographer has matched. In the *Prairie Years* and *War Years* we have the richest, the most flavorful, the most alive, and the most humanly interpretive of all the Lincoln biographies.

Hundreds of thousands have seen him, for he has been up and down and across America many times. He once wrote:

"There are certain old poems . . . . And we learn them by heart; We memorize their lines and outlines, and put them away in the . . . attics of our memories, keeping them as keepsakes, taking them out and handling them, reciting their feel and rhythm, scanning their lines, and then putting them back till the next time they will be wanted, for they will always be wanted again."

If that is true of remembered verses it is equally true of Carl himself. We may see him often or only on rare occasions, but the visual and audible impressions of the man remain. They stay with us. We would not give them up.

MRS. LILIAN STEICHEN SANDBURG WITH THREE OF HER PETS AT CHIKAMING FARM, HARBERT, MICHIGAN

CATTAILS

By THOMAS I. STARR

A FRIENDSHIP with Carl Sandburg is a personal thing, you just enjoy it and appreciate it, and cherish the memories it calls up. I haven't known Carl well enough to have a supply of stories about him—but I do have several recollections which have never been put into print.

There was that night when Edgar DeWitt Jones, Col. S. L. A. Marshall, Lee Smits, and one or two others were in my basement library, and we discussed a wide range of subjects from possible World War III to the miracles of Christ as found in the Apocrypha. Then there was the time when Carl was working on the preface for his *Complete Poems* and he tried out the manuscript on several of us. (I think he wrote all or most of that preface on the same antiquated L. C. Smith I'm using now.)

I remember the first time Carl was ever in our home. Ellen, contrary to my wishes, had a bunch of cattails as a decorative piece in a corner of the living room. Cattails can become a darn nuisance when they commence to dry out and come apart. Carl saw them and uttered an explosive approval of Ellen's decorative taste. We've gone into every winter since with cattails in the living room.

Then there was the Sunday morning, just after breakfast, when a telephone call came from Richmond, Virginia. It was Douglas Southall Freeman calling to ask us to meet Carl at Detroit's Willow Run airport that afternoon. We did, and it was the beginning of five interesting days and short nights when we learned about fried bread, fermented goat

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Thomas I. Starr was formerly editor of the magazine of the Michigan Bell Telephone Company and is the editor of A Lost Speech of Abraham Lincoln.

milk, and several goat cheese sandwiches Carl had toted from home, via Richmond. Carl had to do his own housekeeping that time, for we were all away at work and at school. He said he lived high, but all of the provisions seemed to come out of a large paper sack and twentieth century carpet bag he brought with him.

Office girls in our department at the Michigan Bell Telephone Company are still provoked at him because he would close the door and the transom in my office before he played his guitar. But they remember the time he came and did not play because he was angry. It was during the war, our building was under heavy guard, Carl had to sign a pass to get into the building, and was then ushered up to my office by an armed guard. I think they kept his guitar downstairs; and the last I heard, one of our Negro elevator girls had paid a dollar for his signed pass to the Bell Telephone building.

Yes, I have several stories of incidents during my friendship with Carl Sandburg. There's the one about the second or third time we met, and the first time we ever exchanged more than a passing word or two. But that one is best told after the third highball. The story I like best to tell, however, is of the time I found his quarterly Harcourt, Brace dividend check in a pile of old papers in his garage when he was packing to move from Michigan to North Carolina. I'll let Mrs. Sandburg tell that one, because the check was delivered into her safekeeping. And if you don't know and love Lilian Steichen Sandburg, then you don't know Carl Sandburg.

I saw him last when, on July 4, 1952, Ellen and the children and I stopped at Flat Rock for a few hours. I hate to admit it, but he's in a much lovelier setting than he ever was in Michigan. He says he misses the roar of Lake Michigan; but I find there's more quiet beauty in the hills of North Carolina, where he lives in the beautiful home built in 1833 by Confederate Secretary of the Treasury Christopher Memminger.

CARL SANDBURG, YES

By WILLIAM P. SCHENK

There was a time when the Dream was a few moccasined steps
into the woods this side of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston.
A little later, a page or two farther on in history books,
and the Dream was the smoky wall of the Alleghenies and the Blue Ridge.

There was a time when the Dream was a hunter's fire or a lonely cabin
in Ohio, in Kentucky, in Indiana. Some sunsets, some sunrises,
a few pages more, and the Dream was a steamboat on the Mississippi
and the raw pine shanties in the mud of St. Louis and Chicago.

Wife and children, a skillet and some seeds, some chickens
and a plow inside his creaking wagon—a man would move ahead—
with a long rifle on one shoulder and a big chip of hope on the other.
But the Dream had a way of moving on, always ahead of a man.

The Dream moved to the Missouri, along the Plains, over the Rockies,
and on across the deserts, always ahead of the trappers, the miners,
the traders, the cattlemen, the sodbusters, the pony expressmen,
the overland stage, and the railroads.

Then, some say, the Dream came to an end—dissolved somehow
in the vast blue welcome of the Pacific. There are those who believe this.

Carl Sandburg knows better.

He knows the Dream never died. He knows there was no ending
to its spacious story of sharp axes, and willing hands, the making
of new songs, daring in the dark, and eager eyes on morning horizons.

He knows the Dream lives on—lives on across a forty-eight state ocean
of distances and time, where farmlands ebb and swell from dawn
through sundown,
and the cities under the stratocruisers are starfields in the night.

He knows the Dream lives on in men and women—as hard to pin down
as the smokes over their skyscrapers or the shadows in their alleys,
but no more perishable than the moonlight on their mountainsides
or the sunshine arched from New York Harbor to the Golden Gate.

Carl Sandburg knows.

William P. Schenk, an assistant editor of Science Digest *magazine, Chicago, has done secretarial work for Sandburg, particularly on* Remembrance Rock.

THOUGHTS ON A FRIEND

By FREDERICK HILL MESERVE

MY friendship with Carl Sandburg began with his first visit to my house in New York, as we sat together in the library and discussed what photographs he would need from my collection to illustrate *The Prairie Years.* I can hear him now reading from the manuscript to show the kind of thing he was doing on Lincoln's early life—something never before done, poetry and history together, a marvelous blending of his own. I can hear the extraordinary voice, now whispering soft, now booming loud, slowed down almost to stopping one moment, words mouthed and rolled on the tongue and lingered over, then suddenly rippling and tripping forth in a heart-jumping change of pace. I can also vividly see him excitedly holding up one after another of my Brady negatives to the light, exclaiming at their beauty, studying the prints made from them, lingering over the faces of those men and women for he knew the human stories behind those faces. I can see him holding out an enlargement of Hesler's 1860 photograph, remarking in unique Sandburgian language, "the most beloved beardless Lincoln, it does him more handsome than any other beardless photograph."

As the years went by and Carl finished *The War Years* we continued to meet in a companionship which grew in value. I remember his saying he came to the writing of his books because he felt Lincoln was being lost to the nation's youth:

> Ignoramusses were talking about Lincoln in a way that made me tired. The more I got to love the companionship of this man the farther I went in

Frederick Hill Meserve, long a student of the photographs of the Civil War, is coauthor with Sandburg of The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln.

my job. *The War Years* will take the people a week to read. Some will be insulted. "This is a bale of hay," they will say, "we want a ham sandwich." Every now and then some pleasant human duffer will come up to me and say, "what would Lincoln do if he were here now?" I've written nearly two million words on the subject of Lincoln and they want me to give them a convenient little capsule, possibly requiring two swallows to get it down.

The hours of our evenings together raced by for both of us, always far past my bedtime, but not Carl's, for he worked all night when his mind was on fire. He would talk on and on, thinking out loud. Some of this thinking came forth in words that do not deserve to perish:

> In Lincoln's mind was a constant searching around the question, what is justice? an inexorable exactitude, a scrupulous care. The only thing about him that was exquisite, was his sense of justice. Lincoln's personality was wider in range, had more colors and shadings—than any other in our history. He had a sense of human tragedy, a feeling for the lives of those who toil without being requited, for the victims of an inexplicable fate.

These words and many more equally fine, I heard and noted down.

We went on finally, Carl and I, to collaborate on a book, *The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln,* containing every copy from all daguerres, ambrotypes and negatives, and representing the fruits of a half century of my study in this field and in the history of the Civil War. Our friendship deepened, and I regret that Carl's making his home in a southern state prevents me from often hearing his voice.

One of the things which remain in my memory is the inscription in the copy of *The War Years* presented to me by him. I turn to it now and give it here in all humility—"To Frederick Hill Meserve, whose researches are to stand for centuries, with salutations and affection, as between co-workers in the field of America's greatest personal tradition. Carl Sandburg, September 6, 1939."

A MAN OF FAITH IN MAN

By BENJAMIN P. THOMAS

I FIRST met Carl Sandburg in the middle thirties, when he happened into the office of the Abraham Lincoln Association, of which I was then executive secretary. He was a giant in the Lincoln field and I the merest fledgling; but his approachability soon put us on a first-name basis. Over the years acquaintance became friendship, verging, on my part, toward veneration.

On this first visit I had my first insight into a signal facet of Carl's character when, upon my inviting him to dinner at a hotel, he asked if we couldn't go instead to "some workingman's joint." I have noticed since that whenever Carl rides on trains, it is always in a day coach. Because Sandburg is a man of the common people, just as Lincoln was. From them he draws strength and incitement.

Reading Sandburg's *Complete Poems* recently, I was impressed again, as I had been before, by his artistry with language. Few words in his simple sentences are longer than two syllables. Yet they strike with the impact of a fighter's jolting punch—or soothe like a whisper. Scholars were startled by the unique technique of Sandburg's *Prairie Years* when he first ventured into Lincoln biography. But most of those who scoffed then, honor him now, realizing at last that none of those who used traditional methods had been able to recapture the true feeling of Lincoln and bygone days with the power that Carl commands.

Benjamin P. Thomas is the author of several books on Lincoln including the recently published one-volume biography, Abraham Lincoln.

When I tried to appraise Carl as a Lincoln student in my *Portrait for Posterity,* a backstage view of Lincoln authors, I thought it only fair that he should see what I had written about him before it went to press. So I sent him a copy of that chapter for comment and correction. I had offered some criticisms of the *Prairie Years* (the *War Years* seemed invulnerable), and I waited with foreboding for the chapter to come back. When it did, however, it bore Carl's penciled notation: "Let it go as is."

At seventy-five, Carl Sandburg seems scarcely different from the man I first knew in his fifties. His frame remains as unstooped as his nature and his mind. The faith in human kind by which the world now knows him never wavers. That almost boyish quality has never left his smile.

He has been an imperishable builder in the Lincoln field. But there is more than mere stolid permanence in his work. It quickens, impels and uplifts. He has brought Lincoln and his times alive.

"A HOMESPUN, EARTHY QUALITY"

Excerpts from an article, "That Man *Knows* Lincoln," by Evald Benjamin Lawson, president of Upsala College, in the *Lutheran Companion,* February 12, 1942:

Who but a man from the ranks of the common people could ever write sympathetically the story of Honest Abe, the son of Tom Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, the great commoner who came out of a cabin of the Kentucky frontier? . . .

Edwin Markham has said of Lincoln: "The color of the ground was in him. . . . The smack and tang of elemental things." There is a homespun, earthy quality in Sandburg, too. . . .

May I tell you of a gripping moment when Carl Sandburg was visiting in my home? The hour was long past midnight, but that didn't matter at all. The celebrated author was giving us something of the background of *The War Years.* "I never knew . . . I never knew," he said with a dark, mystic inflection in the voice, and pauses that were profound, "I never knew that one pair of eyes could shed as many tears as fell from mine when I was writing the chapters 'Blood on the Moon' and 'Vast Pageant, Then Great Quiet'"

POETICAL CIRCUIT RIDER

By BRUCE WEIRICK

SOME thirty years ago I wrote a book, *From Whitman to Sandburg in American Poetry.* It seems that Carl was feeling low at the time as one of Victor F. Lawson's stable of bright boys on the *Chicago Daily News,* and its literary critic, Harry Hansen, took it in to him with the approximate remark: "There, you big slob! See who they are ranking *you* with." Carl told me a year or so ago how the title, at least, cheered him; and as a result he dropped me a note requesting, (1) that I send him some pictures of our Lincoln Ox Yoke, now duly inserted in *The Prairie Years;* and (2) if I got to Chicago before he got down to Urbana, to drop in and get acquainted.

I found him large, vigorous, reddish haired, and completely surrounded by all the Chicago papers, all editions, and enormously excited over the accounts of a shooting fray. It was the day a group of bandits had tried to take the Drake Hotel, and after a successful haul of the till and guests, had fled in a car up through Lincoln Park, the police in hot pursuit, firing wildly, and I believe finally capturing the lot of them. "Ain't it wonderful," said Carl. "Show me another American city that can pull off that kind of thing like that! The old West has nothing on Chicago!" The Valentine Day Massacre was yet to come; but by then Carl's gusto was deep in *The War Years,* hunting bigger and better game.

There were one or two other characteristic things about the first meeting. I remember I spoke of having spent an eve-

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ning in the Negro district at a soirée at Mrs. William Vaughn Moody's with her Bed of Ware hung from the ceiling right in the middle of the parlor. After Moody died, she started her very successful bakeries, using some of the profits to promote a kind of Chicago MacDowell colony in the old family home on Twenty-second Street at the lakefront, with certainly a strange mélange of promising artists seeking encouragement and cash. Part of her lure was an opportunity to meet the great. Carl, for a time, he told me, had "gone round there," but she had tried to manage him. "Now, Mr. Sandburg, you and Mr. Frost mustn't spend all the evening talking to each other. There are a lot of fine young artists here who want to meet you both." She was, he thought, worthy and idealistic, but he had no faith in her getting much art for her idealism. Perhaps she was one of the first to learn Carl doesn't lead easy.

Carl told me at the time that his $2,500 a year from the *Daily News* didn't go far with a family of five, and that his poetry, though good advertising, paid no more than $400 a year in royalties. Thus his ballad and guitar business to lighten up his readings had been of great help in getting engagements. People, he remarked, wanted to see a poet, though they didn't much want to hear poetry just naked for a whole evening. He complained, I remember, of having to confine his lunch to fifteen cents for bean soup, while the "other boys," Ben Hecht and Charlie MacArthur, who were in the money, could throw out a dollar and a half for theirs at Schlogl's. I comforted him with the remark that anyway he wasn't "digging his grave with his teeth," and so would probably live longer; a prophecy still to be proven, as they are all quite alive.

About midnight we took off down darkest Madison Street for Carl's "owl train" for Elmhurst. The neighborhood was dark and pretty gruesome. I asked Carl if he thought it wise to walk it alone as he usually did. "Not a bit of danger. Been doing it for years, and never been held up." I remember I was

in an ice-cream suit, blue bow tie, and Panama hat, and looking quite robbable. And then I looked at Carl, unpressed, sloppy, rolling along like a workman just off the line, and huge, and a bit formidable, and I guessed why he was so safe. But I took a cab back from the station to my hotel.

This habit of Carl's of remaining magnificently unpressed has continued with something of the fourth estate's contempt for the tailor lingering even in the way he manages to look unconfined in the tuxedo he occasionally yields to. His wild mane of hair, now, alas, white, defies the look of having been barbered; and he cuts a sharp silhouette against one of his own prairie sunsets, an arresting figure of Scandinavian grandeur, himself quite as much a Growth of the Soil, as the Lincoln he has made his own. Sometimes this cosmic giant finds himself in situations that amuse the conventional bystander. His attempt at the Waldorf to return a book to a guest of, say, Herbert Hoover's inaccessibility. The impeccable clerk's "Mr. Hoover is not to be disturbed." Carl's "But I have a book I know he wants," and again, "Mr. Hoover is not to be disturbed." Grimly Carl walked away, brooding. Then, returning to the desk: "Look here, young fellow! What you need is to take a job as night clerk at the Custer Hotel in Galesburg, Illinois! It would make a man of you! And now kindly get on the telephone and tell Hoover that Carl Sandburg is down here, and no more nonsense!" Fortunately, at that point, the manager appeared, and the honor of the Waldorf was saved; but not until Carl had earnestly tried to get that manikin to get off his perch and talk human. Such people disturb Carl profoundly, much, no doubt, as they did Walt Whitman. The publisher who witnessed this little contretemps felt that it was rich in Americana.

Carl's visits at the University of Illinois off and on these thirty years are cherished experiences, from those early feelings of eccentric surprise at Paul Bunyan in Academe, to the present certainty that with him walks more of America

than with any other visitor. This lover of the mob, however, is shy of being mobbed, and insists, for the most part, on quiet visits with the little group of historians, literary fellows, farmers, and jam-session guitarists who are his old friends. Much of his time, I confess, he spends with the Jim Randalls and with me, and we get accused, quite unjustly of hogging him. It is a rap we have to take, and our explanation that Carl wants it that way, is, I fear, only partially believed.

And what do we do with the great man for a week, or rather, what does he do with us? Of course there is the ritualistic visit to the South Farms and the renewal of Carl's acquaintance with our goats, each of which he knows with its pedigree and offspring. I learned from him with astonishment that goats and cattle run in similar strains: Jersey cattle, Jersey goats; Holstein cattle, Holstein goats . . . amazing! And in the late millennium just after the war, Carl shipped by plane one dozen goats from his own prize herd to Joseph Stalin—no less! In his files, no doubt, is a thank-you note in Russian signed by the dictator himself for a gift I do not doubt the Georgian welcomed more than most.

Then there are the night sessions, with ballad and guitar called on as the mood wills to illustrate some Civil War point, a cowboy whim of the West, a railroad ballad, or something new from back of the yards. Now and then Harry Reeves, our local mine of balladry, will come up with one Sandburg doesn't know, and in a minute or two—no more—he will have added it to his repertoire. He seems effortlessly to absorb and retain the thousands of ballads and tunes he knows. What a shame that despite the dozen or so projects he has in hand—at the age of seventy-four!—he has found time to record so few! Among our many fine ballad singers, he is, though with no great voice, one of the most rewarding. Even such fustian as *Jesse James* he turns into a small saga. Depth of feeling, humor, and a ranging imagination, with the art of becoming one with the author, and lovingly soaking up the environment that created the bal-

lad, are part of his appeal. With a voice that is deep and rich, but that doesn't allow for much change of pace, his range of appeal is astonishing.

And what do we talk about between ballads? Well, there is politics; and there is, surprisingly enough, money, the business of making a living. One forgets that Carl had a roustabout youth of poverty, with a stint in the Spanish-American War, and was twenty before he entered college; thirty before he was married; and thirty-eight before his first minor book was published. It is hard today to remember how very poor was the son of a workman at the turn of the century with its twelve-hour days, twelve and a half cents an hour pay, and seven-day week; and the really superhuman effort required for such a youth even to think of going to college. The battle to rise and to win from the employer a more decent share of his profits for the workman was long and bitter, and bitterly resisted. Carl's early life was lived in the midst of such labor wars, and his poems are largely a record of the struggles and trials of the underprivileged.

Today Carl is, of course, in the Roosevelt stream, but in the old days his heroes were Debs and Darrow and Altgeld—they still are—and he will get off the train to meet some obscure editor of a railroad magazine whose sheet he subscribes for and whose views he shares. He is an authority on minor pamphlets and publications that linger on in the backwashes of print from the old Populist days. Though himself now by the popularity of his "Lincoln" comfortably well-off (in the boom days of 1929 he soaked away his royalties in government bonds), he still finds it hard to share his joys with the rich. And even when riding on one of the crack trains of the nation, he cannot forget the hard-bitten life of his immigrant father "keeping the road-bed" and eating dry bread and bologna, a bitter recollection of his youth here faintly disguised:

CHILD OF THE ROMANS

The dago shovelman sits by the railroad track
Eating a noon meal of bread and bologna.

A train whirls by, and men and women at tables
Alive with red roses and yellow jonquils,
Eat steaks running with brown gravy,
Strawberries and cream, éclairs and coffee.
The dago shovelman finishes the dry bread and bologna,
Washes it down with a dipper from the water-boy,
And goes back to the second half of a ten-hour day's work
Keeping the road-bed so the roses and jonquils
Shake hardly at all in the cut-glass vases
Standing slender on the tables in the dining-cars.

In the midst of his present affluence this guilt of opulence still disturbs him; and when Elmhurst grew from a modest to a wealthy suburb, though he could still afford to live there, he fled with his goats to Harbert and the Dunes of Lake Michigan, where in seclusion in a kind of chalet he avoided vulgar display as he labored over *The War Years.* The rigors of its winters, however, and the distaste of his goats for such a climate (in this, as in everything else, Carl and his goats are quite *en rapport*), have, as everyone knows, brought about the move to the milder ranch of North Carolina. It is a ranch, one gathers, selected quite as much for the goats as for the family of wife, three daughters, and two grandchildren. His daughter Helga, Carl is proud to note, is now president of the AMGRA—American Milk Goat Record Association. And if the reader is inclined to smile at this activity, let him know that it is a smile that betokens his own ignorance. Goats have, I learn from Carl, many virtues: intelligence, friendliness, frugality; and moreover they sustain the farm and pay a nice profit; so that if the worst came to the worst, the Sandburg family could be self-sustaining. The presidency of AMGRA is no lightly won position, in case you care to know.

And what of literature? Does a poet of such wide ranging interests talk of literature, that is, above and beyond the ballad stage? This is, of course, my field, and round the country Carl is friends with more teachers of literature even than of historians. And yet I am surprised to discover that I do not

remember much literary conversation. I am not sure, but I question his passion for Keats' *Odes*. I fear he would rate a "C" there. And he takes a dour look at Milton's Puritanism, and doesn't go much beyond that admittedly grim anachronism to listen to the golden trumpet of his music. I am afraid I should give him a charitable "D" on Milton. I have hesitated in trying to convert him—not having him in one of my classes. But I have sometimes wondered what kind of literature they taught at Lombard around the turn of the century to the ebullient war veteran and laborer of twenty-two. But then if Carl's unknown teachers could retort from the shades, they might well reply, "We produced a poet; not just a judge of poetry!" Touché! And besides, the roughness of his youth had made him more socially than aesthetically conscious by the time they got hold of him, and it had to be in the roaring life about him that he was to find beauty, rather than in the overtones of the more conventional classics. Shakespeare I assume he loves and calls his own; but I do not recall much conversation about him, or any quotation. But then, being an original, Carl is not much given to quotation.

Of his contemporaries Carl speaks more than of the remoter classics, though there, too, more biographically and politically than aesthetically. He speaks of them capaciously and without malice, unlike Frost who is full of little malicious anecdotes about the foibles of his contemporaries, and very amusing ones, too. And it is only of Frost that Carl speaks harshly. He fell out with Frost because of his lack of interest in doing anything about World War II. Frost, like many Yankees, took a dim view of That Man in the White House, and evidently wanted no part in his wars. This Sandburg found unforgivable, and said so in violent terms. There is a coolness between them. Thus I thought I detected an unusual malice in Carl's remark that though he had combed Frost's poems from end to end looking for a *singing* lyric, he had failed to find even one! Carl did not exhibit any real regret, I thought, at the failure of

his quest. Incidentally, the judgment is, I think, correct. Which is not to deny that Frost has many other virtues, of course.

Of Lindsay Carl talks some, and of Masters; but his personal judgments of them are not unusual, and the boom of Lindsay, and the cutting edge of the *Spoon River,* give him about the same reactions that they give the rest of us. He professes no secret information as the cue to their final disintegrations. I doubt that he reads either of them any more. Their fate and their work does not much excite him. Indeed the mystery of the inscrutable Lincoln baffles and entices much more of his speculation. He professes himself chagrined that he ever "fell for" the Ann Rutledge legend, and thinks now that he should have known that it was "out of character." Yet still, though in a different way, so were those letters offering to marry the florid Mary Owens, and *they,* though unquestionably authentic, seem just as much "out of character." On the whole it is Lincoln, not Masters or Lindsay or Frost, that has most meaning in his imagination. Not that this should surprise anyone. Keats liked Hazlitt much better than he did Shelley; and Wordsworth and Coleridge soon found their marriage of true minds intolerably burdensome. It is only in literary history that Keats and Shelley; Wordsworth and Coleridge; Sandburg and Masters and Lindsay look like soul mates.

This relative lack of specific poetical judgments in Carl is rather surprising, as he fancies himself as something of a critic; has even attempted lectures on the subject. But his poetic definitions, such as, "poetry is a synthesis of hyacinths and biscuits," have seemed to audiences a poorish substitute for Sandburg the ballad singer, or Sandburg the poet of Chicago and the Sunburnt West. Like many poets, Sandburg is an indifferent judge of his own poetry, and is as apt to read from his lesser as from his more enduring successes. It is a delicate art to suggest to him what he should read; one I confess I have

never attempted. I remember Mrs. William Vaughn Moody's sad experience. Let me add, however, that the University of Illinois has been very fortunate in Carl's performances.

Perhaps as much appreciated as his poems and ballads was his lecture during the recent war: "What Would Lincoln Do?" For just short of two hours he held his overflow audience entranced, I do not quite know how. If one thinks back one can't remember what he thought Lincoln *would* do that Roosevelt wasn't doing; but like Bryan's speeches, it was a stunning performance, with word hushes, and portentous grandeur hanging Hamlet-like over every sentence. I remember afterward I took him over to the radio station to let him hear himself in the recording, and he himself was astounded. "Did I say that? By God! That's good! I didn't know I had it in me. It must have been that wonderful audience of young people." And again, if the reader is apt to smile at such naïveté, let him try listening to some of his own recordings, and he will find, as I have, that they do assume a life of their own, and cause the author a quite impersonal pleasure or chagrin, as the case may be.

Carl's most recent visit of a week was in gratifying contrast with his first appearance in the early twenties. For some reason at that earlier visit he chose to be difficult. He refused, though he had already consented to the arrangement, to dine with the large group of ladies who were sponsoring him, and who had charged the guests a nice sum for the privilege. We hastily arranged, at his suggestion, a table for six at the Faculty Club. Then he relented, and consented just to appear at the banquet and greet the ladies. Once there, he liked them; and told them all with dubious diplomacy that but for our "dragging him off to the Club," he would have been charmed to dine with them. A remark, needless to say, that put those of us who were trying to look after him right behind the eight ball. I am sure that some of those ladies cherish their resentment of us even to this day, though quite unjustly.

This was bad enough, but more was to follow. We were late getting to the Club, and Carl was sulky. Didn't like the excellent dinner that was ready, insisting on only a large bowl of breakfast food. Conversation was desultory, and he snubbed Garreta Busey when she ventured some literary query as to the relative difficulty of writing prose and poetry. At 7:15 with the lecture forty-five minutes away, he went upstairs for a nap with injunctions to wake him in half an hour. I did so finding him cozy in long red underwear. About eight he discovered that he had none of his books to read from. He doesn't remember his own poems as he does the ballads. I made a dash home for my copies, and at eight-thirty he began the eight o'clock reading and song fest, and quite charmed everybody; and at Stuart Sherman's afterwards at a faculty smoker he was exciting and delightful.

Frost, too, has a story of Carl's delaying to come downstairs to a steak he was cooking for him for one whole hour. "Ha! Fooled you didn't I?" "Fooled me; you damned fool! the steak is ruined." But what was he doing? one of us asked. "Oh," said Frost, "combing his hair." "Trying to make that lock stay back?" someone suggested. "NO!" said Frost, "trying to make it stay down over his eye! He *likes* it that way!" How Frost *knew* what Carl was doing, he didn't say. At any rate in his early days Carl seems sometimes to have vied with Amy Lowell in putting on a show.

Of late years he is much more reliable, and his latest visit, with nothing but his lecture "arranged" beforehand, was quite delightful. He declined, after one night, to stay in the Student Union. "Like a bathroom. No books; no pictures; no music; and those girls' hard heels outside the door." So he moved to my more humane bachelor residence, where he could talk till five of the morning and sleep till noon without ambulatory noises. There was his reading, a huge success, stimulated by the presence of his sister Esther from Gibson City; and a large gathering and song fest afterwards at the Presi-

dent's House, till three of the morning. I still remember the blonde silhouette of his smiling sister as she leaned over his chair as he sang, enjoying her brother's fame and music. And next day, when he was driven over for a brief visit with her, she had a surprise for him: a series of four large portfolios, full of forty years of clippings, poems, pictures, and articles about Carl, which she had been collecting all those years, a mine of Sandburgiana. Carl was overwhelmed at so genuine a tribute. She had never before mentioned doing it.

On his return Carl, the Randalls, and I spent a couple of evenings copying out for the *Collected Poems* some things he had forgotten he had written back in the old Lombard days at Galesburg. I was amazed to discover there the long struggle he had had in "arriving." He was pushing forty when he "stole the time from the boss of *System Magazine,*" a publication he hated, to write the *Chicago* poem that was to make him famous. It is a theft he still rejoices in; no doubt the old socialist bias that "it ain't no sin to rob the rich." And I still marvel with Carl at the love and confidence of a sister who through all those dark years never lost faith in his greatness, but kept right on collecting his idle random trials and errors. Then, as a fine gesture to the University where Carl feels most at home, he and his sister turned the volumes over to our library as a start on the Lincoln-Sandburg room we hope one day to build.

No one can be more aware than I that I have come quite short in this paper of plucking out the heart of his mystery, or even of shadowing forth that Sandburg the world has come to love and to honor. There are many ways in which he is remarkable. Let me try here at the last to indicate a few. He is, for instance, an enormous worker and an untiring traveler on trains, a real trouper who never gets tired. Yet he is never in a hurry, but gives the impression of careless ease, in his walk, in his slow measured cadences of speech, in the unhurried timing of his pauses. Like a great pianist, there is infinite space

between each note no matter how fast he plays. His speech, indeed, is a kind of singing; quite indescribable, with its strong and seemingly accidental stresses on odd syllables. In anyone else it would be an unbearable affectation; but to him as natural as the singing ecstasies of James Stevens and his lilting Irish gaiety. And it has the advantage of slowing down a syncopated world to a pace where it can and does hear his eternal harmonies; like that three-minute *Ave atque Vale* of Justice Holmes to all America over the radio on his ninetieth birthday. There is depth to it, and richness, and overtones. But this is only part of his talk. There is his laughter, genial, radiant, all inclusive; laughter both *with* and *at,* but never mordant, never lacking in kin-making touches; always, somehow, gentle, even at its most boisterous moments. To hear it is inescapably to share it.

How does Carl keep it up, at seventy-four? What makes him tick? Going endlessly up and down America, singing his songs, reading his poems, gathering his folklore, taking a flyer on his first novel—of a thousand pages—at seventy, and with ten or a dozen books in mind right now, some of them half finished, keeping a sharp eye on the latest Lincoln discoveries; where does he get the immortal fire that makes him still delight like a young man to run a race? Well, I have been spying on him, and I have a theory. That episode of his sister and the portfolios is to me very revealing. And the night he sold his Elmhurst place he happened to be at my house in Urbana while Mrs. Sandburg—whom I have never met—was in Elmhurst signing the papers, and I could not but hear their telephone conversation. I hope Carl will forgive me, but it was gentle, and excited, tipped with love's fires; as though they had just discovered each other. Personally I think his women "look after him." Every day he is God in this Scandinavian Valhalla, free to come and to go; free to work and to be fed when he is ready; free to love and to be loved. And if half the year he is off and gone about America's business, still "down on

the farm all prospers well," and there are no recriminations. And I am the more convinced of this my theory by the way the wives of his friends "look after him"; Mrs. Oliver Barrett arranges things for his pleasure and convenience; Ruth Randall and Mrs. George Stoddard cancel all other engagements. And if all he wants to do is work, quiet is what he gets. In fact, Carl is no longer a guest anywhere. He just walks in and belongs. You have to know him to believe it. And is he himself aware of the unusualness of these amenities? Not, I think, at all. But he is quite aware of what is happening in your private life, and most gentle and considerate in sharing all your sorrows and joys. If he belongs, so do you. It is a fair enough exchange.

It was in the spring a year ago after a dinner at the Stoddards', his last evening in Urbana, and he was being driven in the President's car to the University Club in Chicago, it being the only way to get him to his next engagement. It was a bit chilly, and as we piled the robes around him, he remarked as he left, that he had never felt so much like a Royal Prince. It *was* rather gala. I remember contrasting his earliest appearance with this latest one, and remarking how much sweeter he had grown with the years. "Oh," said he, "now I don't have to do it. I only go where it pleases me; give few readings, and those only for fun. You may not know it, but up at Harbert while I was writing the *War Years* I always took time out to listen to Metcalf's lectures on entomology over WILL just to keep in touch. You see I love you here. Here of all places I feel most at home. It's the Lincoln country; and here, I guess, I just sorta belong."

The suspicion that Carl might say that, or something very similar to it in every state in the Union doesn't make us doubt his meaning it any the less. For you see in every state in the Union it would be true.

THE ELOQUENT DRUMSTICK

By DAVID V. FELTS

SEVERAL times I have heard Carl Sandburg sing and recite to the accompaniment he played on his guitar, but I cherish most an evening when I listened at fairly close range while the poet and biographer talked informally, emphasizing his remarks by waving a fried chicken drumstick.

Carl Sandburg had come down to Decatur for an appearance at James Millikin University and had brought with him from Chicago his friend Ralph Newman, of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop. After Sandburg had given his program at the university he was spirited away to the home of John Valentine, Decatur businessman and bibliophile who was associated with Newman for a time in Chicago and now has his own bookshop in Glendale, California.

Before his Millikin recital, Sandburg had eaten sparingly —milk and fruit salad. But after the program he sat down to a platter of fried chicken and the appropriate side dishes and tumblers.

The poet did all the eating and most of the talking. He enjoyed the fried chicken almost as much as the privileged guests enjoyed the practically unilateral conversation. Toscanini's baton could be no more eloquent than Sandburg's chicken drumstick.

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FRIENDS ON THE *POST-DISPATCH*

By IRVING DILLIARD

A FRIEND'S affection for Carl Sandburg is so great that it is hard to resist the temptation to tell all the good and interesting, the funny and lasting things you know about him. Particularly does this temptation come to a former trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library, whose board mates were the late Lloyd Lewis and Oliver Rogers Barrett in the days when Paul M. Angle was Illinois State Historian and secretary-treasurer of the Illinois State Historical Society.

For in those days Carl was a kind of ex-officio trustee, personally if not legally. His visits with us are jolly, golden memories for me and somehow they are for Oliver and Lloyd, too, I suspect. Even so I limit my report to Carl's connections with the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* staff and the late Bart B. Howard, our Pulitzer Prize editorial writer, since it is a relationship about which perhaps only I can write now.

Carl has never worked for the *Post-Dispatch* that I know of, but over the years he has visited us from time to time and I think it fair to say that visitor and visited have drawn mutual cheer from those occasions. Indeed, so far as I know, Carl and Bart Howard never met. They had, however, the warmest regard for each other as men and as practitioners of the literary craft. And in the sense that counts, it can be said that they were the firmest of friends via the printed page.

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Bart Howard was born in the Berkshires in 1871. He attended Williams and Union colleges, played southpaw second base in professional as well as school baseball, and was a reporter and special writer in Schenectady, Joplin, Columbus and Oklahoma City before settling in St. Louis. He was ill through much of 1940, the year his editorial writing was recognized with a Pulitzer Prize. In early 1941 he got to the *Post-Dispatch* office only part time and as a consequence spent many hours among his books at home.

One of the old friends he turned to was a well-handled, blue-black copy of *The Prairie Years*. Out of it came an editorial written, as I remember, on what must have been his last trip to the editorial-page room, certainly one of the last two or three visits. Printed February 5, 1941, under the heading, "The Trib's Latest Death Sentence," it read as follows:

The Chicago Tribune has read Wendell Willkie out of the Republican Party, and the ex-communicant, as a student and teacher of American history, is aware, of course, that he is not the first of the faith to be banished into outer darkness by that austere arbiter. Reading Republicans out of the party might be recorded as an Old *Tribune* custom.

Joseph Medill's paper was in its early teens, and Abraham Lincoln was still a President-elect, when the *Tribune* pronounced its original sentence of party death. The offender was Congressman William Kellogg of Canton, Ill., the year was 1861, the month was February. Carl Sandburg tells it briefly in *The Prairie Years*.

Kellogg had introduced a resolution in the House "to amend the Constitution so that slaves could be taken into any territory south of 36-30 from any state where slavery then lawfully existed." With a roar of rage, the *Tribune* denounced the proposal as adding "the crime of swindling to that of compromising with traitors," and ostracised the author, one of Lincoln's closest personal friends, and trusted political advisers.

Eighty years ago. Life then soared on a redder wing. Time has mellowed manners. The now sophisticated *Tribune* dismisses Willkie with gay insouciance. But its banter is a veneer. Underneath its facetiousness is a stormy soul, furious at this chap Willkie's duplicity.

Carl enjoyed a hearty laugh when Bart's twitting bit of journalistic history reached the Sandburg home by mail. He urged me to escort Bart to Springfield on February 12 for the

official presentation and acceptance at the Illinois State Historical Library of the great collection of Lincoln books and pamphlets of the late Governor Henry Horner.

The fact was that I had already invited Bart and for a couple of weeks he had looked with at least some hope to the foregathering in the long Lincoln shadow. But as the ceremony date drew on, Bart knew that he could not make a trip of a hundred miles from St. Louis. He asked me to carry his thanks as well as his greetings to Carl, Oliver, Lloyd and the others who would be there.

Although Bart could not go, I did not attend without others from the ranks of Carl's friends at the *Post-Dispatch.* Daniel R. Fitzpatrick, our celebrated cartoonist, had long admired Carl, and Carl in turn had long admired Fitz for his originality, daring and humor, his courage and his impact. Arthur Witman, one of our best photographers, went to do an essay in pictures. That day, while we all were in Springfield, Bart had a heart attack in his apartment and died. A check of the exact time might have showed that it was just as Carl was speaking about Lincoln and Governor Horner and their books and their meaning for the people of the cornland prairie.

Two years later Carl came to St. Louis to read the words to *A Lincoln Portrait* by Aaron Copland at a concert of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra with Andre Kostelanetz as its guest conductor. He visited us at the *Post-Dispatch* and it was while he was in the office, at work on a borrowed typewriter, that Fitz drew the classic of Carl, "What Do They Know of India, Who Only Olive Street Know?" (Olive Street is in St. Louis and the *Post-Dispatch* is at one of its intersections.)

Carl spoke of Bart and so I took him to the Bart Howard Memorial Collection of books at the St. Louis Public Library, proudly presided over by Miss Margery Doud, chief of the

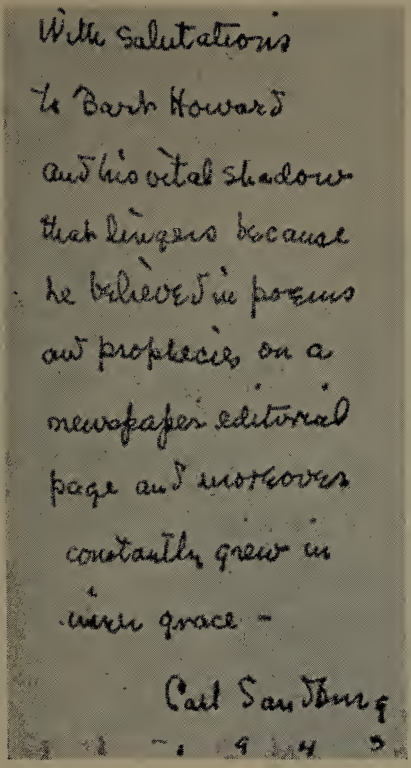
DANIEL R. FITZPATRICK'S CARTOON OF SANDBURG.

library's readers' advisory service, who had so often served Bart Howard's library wants.

There, in a special case, was a collection of many scores of books that Bart had relished and written about over the years, from Thucydides by way of Shakespeare and Madison and Lloyd Lewis and James O'Donnell Bennett to Ring Lardner. It was gathered by Bart's fellow workers on the *Post-Dispatch* as a tribute to their colleague and friend to show the range of his taste in literature.

Carl looked along the shelves. His sharp eyes, under overhanging locks of silver hair, seemed sure they would find it. Quickly he saw the two-volume edition of *The Prairie Years*. Without saying anything he took down Volume I and

opened to the flyleaf. Then, in his slow, decisive way, he wrote these words:


With salutations
to Bart Howard
and his vital shadow
that lingers because
he believes in poems
and prophecies on a
newspaper editorial
page and moreover
constantly grew in
inner grace -
Carl Sandburg
1954

A personal word may be excused here at the end since it is the sort of thing I would have showed to Bart before sending to Carl. When Carl's *Complete Poems* came out in 1950, I read among scores of others his poem, "Corn Hut Talk." On page 257 I found this command:

> Send me
> a sumach leaf from an Illinois hill.

That Sunday afternoon, as I drove my family from Collinsville, Illinois, where I live, to O'Fallon, along the winter-bound back road, I came to the farmhouse where Carl had visited one of his daughters several years earlier. At that

farmhouse he had sat out by the woodpile and looked up at the stars above the barn.

There, at the road bank, was a clump of sumach and as always with sturdy sumach in winter some of the leaves were still on the branches. I waded to the thicket, and selected a leaf that had retained much of its red. That evening I sent that leaf to Carl, from an Illinois hill, a December snow-covered Illinois hill—and from Bart Howard.

THE LINCOLN AUTHOR AT WORK

Carl Sandburg prefers to work surrounded by a seeming clutter of notes and clippings and with his typewriter mounted on an orange crate as he is shown here in his study at Connemara Farm, Flat Rock, North Carolina.

SANDBURG AS HISTORIAN

By ALLAN NEVINS

WHEN Carl Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years,* that Gargantuan work of four stout volumes and two thousand five hundred pages, appeared in 1939, thirteen years had elapsed since the publication of his two-volume study of the prairie rail-splitter, storekeeper, lawyer, Congressman, debater, and Presidential candidate. Vague reports had stolen to the world of the task in progress at Harbert, Michigan—of the attic workroom, the shelves of books, the growing hillocks of notes and excerpts, the copyists tap-tapping downstairs, the biographer himself ceaselessly toiling through long spring and summer days at his cracker-box typewriter. Everyone who knew of Sandburg's rich, if unconventional, equipment for his task—his poetic insights, his mastery of human nature, his power of selecting the vital human details from a mass of arid facts, his command of phrase and imagery, and above all his feeling for the mingled humor, pathos, shoddiness, and grandeur of democracy—expected a remarkable work. To history he brought just the faculty that the *London Spectator* had detected in Lincoln himself, "a mind at once singularly representative and singularly personal." No one, however, was prepared for the particular kind of masterwork that he laid before the country.

A book homely but beautiful, learned but simple, exhaustively detailed but panoramic, it occupied a niche all its own, unlike any other biography or history in the language.

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Its theme was the folk-hero of a great and terrible folk war; and its primary merit was that, with a subtle art masked by apparent artlessness, it rendered a convincing picture both of the Lincoln who belonged to the people, and of the people who belonged to Lincoln. In its pages Lincoln always held the center of the crowded stage, and yet the stage was always alive, moving, bright with color, and full of drama. Here were the gallant figures—Elmer Ellsworth, Edward Baker, Theodore Winthrop, all cut off so untimely by war; the strutters—Winfield Scott, "almost a parade by himself," John Pope, whose boasts turned to whines, Frémont, Ben Butler; the eccentric great—Stanton and his wild temper, Chase and his sleepless ambition, Sumner and his monumental vanity; the truly illustrious captains—Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Farragut; the figures of controversy—McClellan the cautious, Burnside the muddleheaded, Hooker the dissipated, Meade the tardy; the keen-eyed observers—Noah Brooks of the *Sacramento Union,* Orville Browning of a sharpsighted diary, Carpenter the watchful painter. Here above all was the multitude of plain people, who shook the President's hand at receptions, wrote him letters, and spent and fought for his cause. "Remember, Dick," Lincoln told Richard Oglesby, "to keep close to the people—they are always right and will mislead no one." In Sandburg's book he was shown always close to the people.

The greatness of Sandburg's achievement was instantly recognized. "When specialists have finished scraping, refining, dissenting, and adding," wrote Charles A. Beard, "I suspect that Mr. Sandburg's work will remain for long years to come a noble monument of American literature." The late Lloyd Lewis pierced in one sentence to the central merit of the biography. "A great American democrat has come at last to his most sympathetic, and, at the same time, his most searchingly detailed portrait at the hands of another great American democrat." A mighty summation, wrote Robert E. Sherwood.

"It is so great a work that it will require great reading and great reflection before any true appreciation of its permanent value can be formed." Appearing just as the world plunged into its most terrible war, this study of our own bloodiest ordeal and our triumphant emergence was a stay to the spirits of countless readers from Pearl Harbor to Hiroshima.

Yet now that we have a dozen years' perspective on *The War Years,* and now that many of us have frequently re-read parts or all of it, our verdict upon the four volumes must be slightly different from that first given. All the initial critics were awed by the mass of detail in these million and a half words. "An indefatigable thoroughness characterizes his preparations and his pages," wrote Beard. Another critic spoke of Niagara. Still another wrote: "The technique is that of an attack in force; Sandburg masses his facts in regiments, marches them in and takes the field." Most of the early reviewers commented on the lack of system in the work. Compared with the formal, schematic organization of Nicolay and Hay, for example, it seemed at first glance disorderly. We can now see, I think, that a vigorous selective talent had been exercised upon the multitudinous facts, anecdotes, conversations, reports, documents, and other materials; that those chosen were relevant to a few central ideas. As Sandburg put it, "the teller does the best he can and picks out what to him is plain, moving, and important." We can also see that while seemingly unsystematic, the tremendous narrative (for it is all narrative) really has a careful underlying plan. It is a presentation of all that touched Lincoln immediately or remotely 1861-1865, set down chiefly as he saw or heard of it, and so arranged as to depict these years with the greatest possible verisimilitude. As the times were confused, a proper portraiture of the times has to contain confusion.

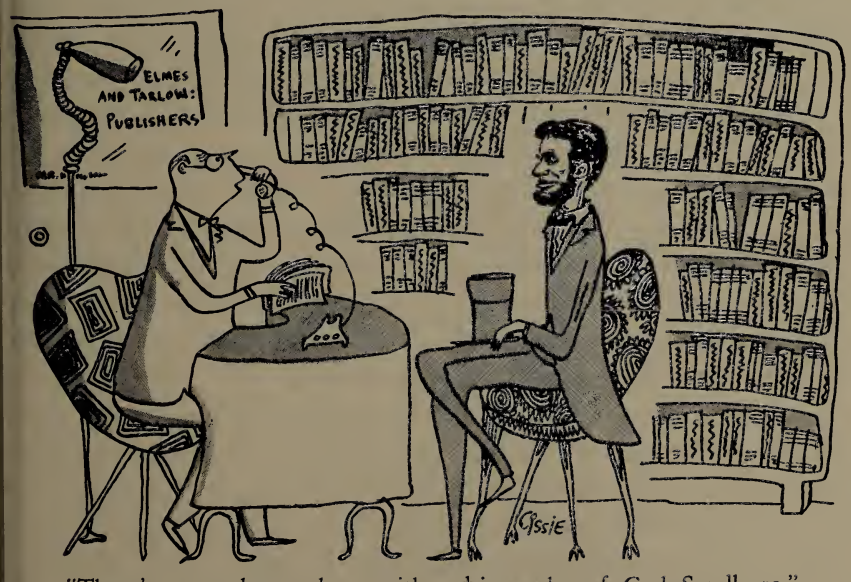
To Lincoln and the Northern people, the disorder, military, political, and social, must at times have seemed overwhelming. In that most poignant chapter entitled "Deep

Shadows—Lincoln in Early '63," for example, the mass of detail mirrors the agonized jumble of the era all the better because we find commingled in it the abusive writings of Copperhead editors, the wartime activities of Frederick Douglass, the extravagance of New York parvenues, minstrel hall jokes, the story of arbitrary arrests, vignettes of Lincoln receiving Joseph Medill and helping a beggar, and a sketch of Washington as Walt Whitman saw it. A lack of sequence?—well, life lacks sequence. On a first reading the work seems to contain excursions and irrelevances that might be omitted; on a fifth reading we decide that nothing could be left out, for everything contributes to a realistic impression of the era. There is a place for Count Gurowski's bad manners and Tom Thumb's appearance in the White House no less than for Chase's resignation and the Gettysburg Address. In short, the book really has an interpretive principle which gives system to its rich promiscuity; and this principle is rooted in the vision of the poet.

We can see now, too, that Sandburg was happy in the moment when he took up his pen. Interest in Lincoln and the Civil War, far from being exhausted, was just rising in a new floodtide which is yet far from spent. At long last nearly all the material that was needed for a true picture of the era and its central hero was available. Forty years earlier, Ida Tarbell had opened a new era in the study of Lincoln by her realistic collection of materials on every side of the man, his weaknesses no less than his virtues, and by her thorough search for local and personal materials. Since that time a steady stream of histories, biographies, special studies, and memoirs had poured forth. The invaluable diary of Gideon Welles became available in 1911; the letters and diary of John Hay were revealed in part in 1908, in part in 1938; the two volumes of Orville H. Browning's diary were published in 1927 and 1933; and the diary of Edward Bates in 1930. The publication of Gilbert A. Tracy's *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln*

took place in 1917 and that of Paul M. Angle's *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* in 1930. Lives of lesser political figures, books on battles and military leaders, monographs on home politics and foreign affairs, had appeared in steady profusion from 1905 to 1935. So encyclopedic and sure a treatment as Sandburg gave us would not have been possible at an earlier date.

The most distinctive qualities of the Sandburg work are three: first, its pictorial vividness, a product of his graphic style, love of concrete detail, and ability to recreate scenes imaginatively in a few sentences; second, its human quality—its feeling for men and women, great and small, with all their frailties and heroisms; and third, the cumulative force of its detail in building up, step by step, an impression of the crowded, discordant times, with problems rising in endless welter—and, by the same means, an impression of Lincoln learning to endure the storm, patiently developing his powers,



"There's a gentleman here with a biography of Carl Sandburg."

(*Cartoon by Cissie Liebschutz, from the* Chicago Tribune, Magazine of Books, *December 2, 1951.*)

and finally mastering all the adverse forces. These are the qualities of a great historian who is also a finished artist. In Beveridge's two volumes on the early career of Lincoln we had the enormous accumulation of detail—but his biography wanted vividness. Beveridge wrote a most instructive and satisfying book, which in its presentation of Lincoln the politician was almost revolutionary. It lacked, however, the engrossing gift for phrase and epithet shown by Sandburg on every page; the gift that hits off Greeley "with fishy eye and natural falsetto," that tells how guerrilla warfare in Tennessee "snarled and whanged," that puts Whitman's portrait in a phrase—"undersized, with graying whiskers, Quaker-blooded, soft-hearted, sentimental, a little crazy." And in no other American biography do we have the sympathy for humanity washed and unwashed that Sandburg constantly exhibits.

It is from the cumulative quality of the detail that readers get their comprehension of the intricate difficulties of the era, and of Lincoln's maturing greatness in wrestling with them. The book indulges in none of that hero-worship which so marred Nicolay and Hay's ten-volume panegyric. It frankly discloses Lincoln's want of organizing power, his uncouthness, his frequent mistakes of judgment, his bewilderment, his self-mistrust ("I sometimes think I am just an old fool," he told his son), his indecisions, his fits of gloom. But it also shows how steadfastly he strove against the problems that bethorned and quagmired his path, and which harried him to the melancholy verge of despair. It reveals the true magnitude of his labors from Sumter to Appomattox.

Out of Sandburg's 2,500 pages rises the picture of a people and a ruler caught in a terrible dilemma. Lincoln's central problem was that he had to captain a peace-loving democracy, its governmental machinery and political system totally unadapted to war purposes, in the most stubborn and costly conflict the world had known since Napoleon. Any terrible and prolonged war, if waged with real efficiency, demands an

approach to a dictatorship. But neither Lincoln's soul, nor the nature of the republic, nor the temper of the American people, permitted a quasi-dictatorship; and, to carry the North to victory, a constant process of agonizing adjustment had to be made in every field. The country in 1861 was quite unorganized; by 1865 it was fully organized in some areas and half organized in others. But what a struggle to achieve that change, which laid the foundations of modern America! A leader less sagacious, less cautious, less gifted with the power to mold opinion and forge a national will that finally became like tempered steel would have involved himself and his country in disaster. "He is the best of us all," Seward wrote his wife—and Sandburg's pages explain just why.

What a chaos it was this Illinois lawyer was called upon to ride! The army had to be built from nothing, and was always half crippled by State meddling, the jealousies of rival generals, party spirit, and general aversion to discipline. Washington was full of quarreling cabals and power-hungry politicians with lobbies at their backs. Lincoln had in his own Secretary of the Treasury an endlessly intriguing rival for the Presidency. He shortly found Congress controlled by a body of heedless radicals who attacked him foully, lost few opportunities to thwart him, and dabbled with amateur cocksureness in the conduct of the war. Half the North was as hotly for emancipation as the border states were dourly against it. In many state capitals governors and legislators were either showing excessive zeal, or using their authority to obstruct and humiliate him. The Abolitionists at one extreme and the Copperheads at the other filled the air with reproaches, slanders, and demands that he do everything but what he was doing.

The mid-term elections of 1862 went against him. A party of defeatists arose, and with Greeley at its head demanded a truce that would be equivalent to surrender. The Cabinet broke into openly antagonistic factions, Seward glowering at Chase, and Montgomery Blair at swords' points with

Stanton. General after general went down in defeat. When after Fredericksburg, the people sickened over defeat and the horrible casualty lists, the leaders of the Senate demanded that the Cabinet be instantly remade with men whom they could control. Financial problems, foreign problems, and the Negro problem at times took on a complexity which made each seem absolutely insoluble. A great section of the press was licentiously defamatory, and recked little whether it gave the enemy military information of high value or not. The country adopted conscription with such muddled legislation (against which Lincoln wished to protest sharply, but dared not) that a wave of rioting swept the North. It began the war with no medical service worth the name; its initial handling of contracts could hardly have been worse if devised by Jefferson Davis; its financial expedients worked with creaking unfairness, so that while greenbacks fell and prices rose, the rich man's bank account grew fat and the workingman's loaf became lean. At some moments government of the people, by the people, for the people, must have seemed even to Lincoln a hopeless mess of selfishness, corruption, and quarrelsome inefficiency.

As history, we knew all this in general terms before Sandburg wrote; much of it is in Rhodes and Schouler. But it took Sandburg's mass of details, drawn from ten thousand sources, condensed, classified, and selected with an eye to the reproduction of all American life, to bring out the bewildering disorganization of the time, the soul-chilling uncertainty, and the searing agonies. In these 2,500 pages, a distillation from a whole library, we have perhaps the best picture of a people in racked travail yet written by any pen. All facets of the popular temper are caught for us. The picture is not sombre—the people had too much vitality and exaltation for that; it is not bright—they had too much hardship and grief for *that;* it has the variegated tints of life itself. We see a people greedy and heroic, determined and slack, with plenty to weep over but with an unquenchable tendency to gossip, jest, and laugh.

Sandburg's stage, with its thousands of defined faces, its endless incidents, its shifts of joy and sorrow, ease and strain, triumph and defeat, has a liveliness which we can match only in imaginative literature; it is the vitality of Whitman's catalogue poems, of Dickens and Balzac, almost of Shakespeare's world. Crowded streets, busy exchanges, smoking camps, roaring political conventions, the sobbing of women, the fever of speculators, the whispers of political plotters, the tramp of armies—all are here. In the end, the people proved dauntless.

But it is after all more biography than history; in this it differs from much of Beveridge and Freeman. The central figure is never lost to sight, as he frequently was in Nicolay and Hay. In essentials it is the familiar portrait that Sandburg redraws, the Lincoln of Carl Schurz, Miss Tarbell, and Lord Charnwood. But the eye is kindled to lustre, the features are quickened into a speaking image, the man is made to walk, gesture, and grow. Sandburg's biographical methods—the methods of an immense accretion of personal glimpses, stories, quoted speeches, revealing incidents, recorded acts—might not fit many great personages; it could hardly be applied to a reserved man, and would not do justice to a highly complicated and subtle person. But it does fit the genius and character of Lincoln, and is appropriate to the vast materials at hand. These materials are more abundant than if a Boswell had constantly followed Lincoln in the White House parlors and offices throughout his term. An endless array of keen-sighted men, pouring through his office, scrutinizing him whenever he went to camp or conference, treasured in their memories what he did and said; at first or second hand these memories went on paper; and we now possess an impression of Lincoln for almost every day of his administration. Sandburg's narrative is naturally less even and consistent than Boswell's, but it is almost as intimate, and is richer, more varied, and more multifariously interesting.

And who is this Lincoln as he emerges from the 2,500

pages? Basically the familiar Lincoln, as we have said; the Lincoln swift to spare and slow to smite, the Lincoln whom Stanton called the greatest leader of men ever born, the Lincoln whose noblest words are now a possession of all mankind. No striking changes of estimate occur here, such as Beveridge gave us in treating the younger Lincoln. But the biography is full of novel insights. Sandburg relishes the homely side of Lincoln, the rough-hewn Illinois speech. "Well, I have got that job husked out," he said after finishing a batch of papers; "chew and choke as much as possible," he telegraphed Grant when the armies were at grips. Sandburg sees the significance of the fact that Lincoln tipped his hat to officers, but doffed it to privates, and that at a White House reception he broke from the line to talk with bashful soldiers. He makes it plain that the gentle Lincoln could get very angry indeed; that on due provocation he could even swear. He dwells with real perception, too, on a fundamental perplexity of the war which sometimes baffled Lincoln:

> Nailed with facts of inevitable fate was his leadership. The gesture of stretching forth his hand and bestowing freedom on chattel slaves while attempting to enforce his will by the violence of the armies subjugating the masters of the slaves on their home soil, the act of trying to hold a just balance between the opposed currents of freedom and authority, raised up a riddle that gnawed in his thoughts.

It was sometimes impossible to walk the narrow line between liberty and coercion without deviation, to reconcile high and humane intentions with weapons of brutal power.

The final impression emphasizes three characteristics of Lincoln which sometimes clashed and jangled, sometimes interacted harmoniously: his magnanimity; his shrewdness or realism; and his attachment to compromise. Men who have Lincoln's generosity of spirit are rare, and men who can combine it with his hardheaded practical sagacity are rarer still. The diarist George Templeton Strong records the remark of his father-in-law S. B. Ruggles that one trifling consolation for

Lincoln's assassination was that he could not pardon his murderer! But story after story, episode after episode, in Sandburg's book shows that while Lincoln was magnanimous indeed, he was also keen-witted and farsighted—quick to pierce to the motives of selfish men, expert in checking scoundrels, and sharp in his comprehension that what might appear the most generous course (an early emancipation of the slaves, for example) would sometimes really be damaging and ungenerous. The whole study of Lincoln's personality gains momentum, as the leader himself did. By the middle of the war he was expert, confident, and without arrogance convinced, as Donn Piatt observed, "of his own superiority" to his administration helpers; and by the middle of this book the reader quite appreciates his greatness.

Lincoln began his national sway with a rejection of the Crittenden Compromise, a step inevitable unless he repudiated all his party stood for. Thereafter, however, from beginning to end, he showed a dislike for fanatical extremes of opinion and a preference for the middle path which was in the great Anglo-Saxon tradition of government. In party affairs, he was almost midway between the radical Republicans like Wade and Stevens, and the ultra-conservatives like Henry J. Raymond. In his management of the government he was denounced with equal bitterness by Wendell Phillips the Abolitionist and Vallandigham the Copperhead. His initial object in the war was moderate, to restore the Union; and he enlarged the objects of the war to cover emancipation only with reluctance and misgiving, though with a strong sense of the beneficence of the step. In facing the consequences of the war he shrank from the revolutionary changes that seemed certain to engulf the South and likely to transform the North. He wished the alterations which sprang from the conflict, whether political or social, to be gradual and moderate.

"The tale is not idle," wrote Sandburg in the preface to his condensed "profile" of the Civil War, *Storm Over the*

Land, taken mainly from *The War Years*. He added that in another stormy era readers might perhaps "find shapes of great companions out of the past and possibly touches of instruction not to be used like broken eggs beyond mending." These words hold true of his four-volume work, which is likely to endure as long as his poetry. He will long be adjudged to have written one of the best of our biographies—and something more. For it is not merely a biography; it is a magnificent piece of history, a vital narrative of one of the most critical periods of the nation's life, and an epic story which for decades will hearten all believers in the virtues of democracy and the high potentialities of democratic leadership.

Photo by Edward Steichen

THE SANDBURGS—CARL AND LILIAN

A REPORTER, YES

By RICHARD J. FINNEGAN

HIS WORK on *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* was less than half done. Alternately he was writing and researching. It was the early-to-middle thirties.

Carl would come over to Chicago from the Sandburg home in Harbert, Michigan, to root in Oliver Barrett's stuff on Lincoln. Often Oliver would walk him over to meetings of the Skeeters, a Saturday lunching outfit with a room in the Hotel LaSalle. Its sessions were always pleasant, generally vigorous, with slings and stings, but much too long for anyone who had to break away and get back to newspaper deadlines.

The depression was on and getting worse. The Skeeters blustered around in its problems. There were doctors and lawyers, merchants and bankers, a priest and a rabbi, judges, artists, and writers. Somebody had read in an editorial that the millions out of work across the land—or most of them—just didn't want to work. They were a new leisure class. Suddenly Carl Sandburg let out a series of those great braying hee-haws of his.

"Ten million bums!" he roared. "Yes, they're just ten million good for nothing lazy bums." Then we had some more from Carl on the subject. He gave case histories. The fellow he met in Duluth. The guy coming out of Roswell, New Mexico, on a day coach. The Connecticut Yankee family, husband and wife and two teen-age daughters—all the women

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posing as men—to whom he gave the two sandwiches from the oilcloth bag he carried on his travels for the garnering of interesting newspaper clippings and other odds and ends of information.

Carl had been bumping into the people—on the breadlines, on the roads, on the town. And now, as a reporter, he was reporting. Yes, Carl's a poet and a historian. Yes, he's a philosopher. Yes, he plays at the guitar and tries his best at singing—those old ballads and cowboy songs. But first he's a reporter. A reporter, yes.

His Lincoln is reporting. He was right at Lincoln's heels, up and down and across the prairies. His *War Years* is reporting. And so is *Remembrance Rock.*

As a reporter he has a bedside manner. One morning we heard some hollering in the hall. I opened the bedroom door a crack and heard a falsetto "Mr. Editor, oh, Mr. E-d-i-t-o-r!" It was a little before 7:00 A. M. Across the hall, standing in the doorway of the room where he had slept, stood Carl Sandburg clothed in a long nightgown. He liked the way his alarm had worked. With proper pantomime he said, "Here's your goat's milk. I had it out on the window sill all night." It was a treasure long promised. He turned it over as though he had had delivery experience with Borden's or Bowman's. "It's from one of Mrs. Sandburg's latest prizes," he went on. "I know you and the little missus will like it—and Dovie, too."

His big bare feet took him back across the threshold, his door was closed and there was silence until long after the normal breakfast hour.

The goat's milk had gone down to Dovie in the kitchen. It was a tee-off topic for their first conversation when Carl appeared in the breakfast room for brunch. Dovie had had contact with ancestors who had been in slavery. She came from near Birmingham. And she knew all about goats. By the time his stirring the fourth cup of coffee had produced the effect of a liquid phonograph record in his large cup, Carl had

Dovie's story from her girlhood to her grandmother days. Dovie's blood ambition had been to have her own home. She couldn't write it and she couldn't define it, but she felt what security was. Now she was just a few hundred dollars from owning it. And that was good. There were eight rooms and a basement.

Her son, a skilled workman with a high-school education, had to move in with his wife and family. Dovie had roomers, too, but they weren't paying just now. But they would when they could. Everybody was out of a job except Dovie. But she and Carl agreed that this was a great country and going to be greater for people willing to work when there was work to get. After all his questions, she knew she was important to that country, to that family, to those roomers and to Carl Sandburg, still stirring what remained of the fourth cup of coffee and looking as though he was getting ready for the fifth.

Why could she say so much to this man, she who normally was so backward and almost mute? She was full of questions and instinctively felt he was full of answers. Big people she heard on the radio fascinated her—big people who were talking about the things that touched her security, big people who might do something to get her family and her roomers back to work. But he never said much about the great people he had met. He just told her about people whom he had met who were like herself and her son and her daughter-in-law and her grandchildren and her roomers.

And the next time he sat down to a Dovie brunch they joined in a warm handshake. Look, his rheumatism was gone!

"Did you use that body rub I told—?" Dovie asked.

"Surest thing you know," said Carl. "See! I can reach my arms up—way up! No pain at all! Wonderful, Dovie, wonderful."

"Didn't I tell you!" came motherly pride and joy.

With Mary, Carl got his big ears filled by his big shoe

routine. Mary was about five then. It was the first time they had met. We were taking Carl to the train. Carl was about the largest man Mary had ever seen. She sat in the back seat with her grandmother and just stared at him. This was the wonderful man Dovie had talked to her about. At the bend of Sheridan Road near Mundelein College where you get quite near the lake, Carl took Mary on. He turned to her and in almost a whisper asked: "Did your grandfather ever tell you about the way he walks on the lake in his big shoes?" Mary's "no, sir" was full of anticipation. The Rootabaga man moved in fast and established a contact that brought forth all of Mary's life story. And when the train pulled out, the reporter had a tender human yarn to store away alongside all the others.

When *The War Years* were done at last and Carl had indulged in that great sigh—"what if I hadn't lived to finish it!"—we on the *Chicago Times* tried to get him to write on events during the Hitler war. It took more than a year of coaxing.

A Very Important Person in Washington may have helped Carl make up his mind. This V.I.P. wanted to have Carl appointed to an unusual post for a reporter, one in which he would have the opportunity "of studying quietly the swift changes which Washington is too close to for analysis." Carl would take up his post "somewhere in peaceful America (that is, not in New York or Washington) preferably in the country." He was to submit "from time to time his reflections upon world affairs."

Washington, it seemed, wanted Carl to use his big shoes and the big ears and report to the government. But Carl had no heart for it.

"No contract," he wired us at last, "just put it in a letter." It called for 500 to 1,000 words, one article a week. The roving reporter with the Pulitzer Prize, the man who had ears big enough to hear everybody's story wherever he went, the man who used the big shoes, tried to do such a conscientious job

that he often made it hard for himself. Through the syndicate his pieces were sold to newspapers from coast to coast.

Letters came in from all over, one from Chauncey Giles Hubble, 12 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. He had read Carl's piece, entitled "The Man With the Broken Fingers." It had been read on a Treasury Hour program on radio. It had been short-waved to various parts of Europe. It had been published in many foreign languages.

The Gestapo had caught a Norwegian who refused to talk.

"Tell us those names. Who are they? Talk! Names now —or else!"

"No names—over and over and no names."

So they broke his fingers one by one and then his arms but no names came.

Mr. Hubble who had read the piece in the *Boston Globe* asked if these were actual facts, "reliable and authenticated." Carl Sandburg answered with the place, the date and the names. He had attended a mass meeting of Swedes and Norwegians in Minnehaha Park in Minneapolis. It was Sunday afternoon in mid-August. A Norwegian flyer from Camp Little Norway, near Toronto, had spoken. He had told an almost unbelievable story, "cruelly repressive, befouling of human dignity." He had mentioned the man who had had his fingers broken. Reporter Sandburg had talked to the Norwegian flyer. He was using the name of Lieutenant "Andreas." And "Andreas" was the son of the man with the broken fingers—"better to die one by one than to say yes yes yes, when the answer is no no no."

Messages along with his copy:

How do you spell collossall? By doubling l and s when in doubt how can you lose? It's harvest time and near domesday and the milis will never grind with the water that's gone by and I hope this finds you serene in a howling wilderness. CARL.

Some meticulous sonofagun changes my copy from "like always" to

"as always." Tell him I knew "like always" is vulgate and vernacular as distinguished from chaste Addisonian. Twas a good visit this week. I like your corner of Chicago. CARL.

Sandburg promised to see World War II through and he did. Toward the end he was talking about the Pilgrims and the unreported events of their voyage. And that fellow, Roger Williams—"what a guy to get close to!" And long visits with Keith Wheeler, war correspondent in the Pacific, whose on-the-spot experiences made him certain that the present Korean conflict, perhaps something worse, was inevitable. And so Carl was off on another research and writing jog.

But he continued to study quietly "the swift changes which Washington is too close to for analysis." From Flat Rock came this postal card message, dated May 10, 1950: "Look up my column for July 9, 1944. Give it a slow reading. It is nearly worth reprint for this hour. YRS. CARL." It was a timely column, all right, Carl had written in 1944:

> The pitiless and inevitable consequences to follow this great war are harder to read beforehand than any previous war known to mankind because never before has a war involved such a variety of motives, peoples, causes, such vast armed forces and populations, such immense and diversified areas of conflict.

The United Nations was finding that out in early 1950. Carl went on (1944):

> Whatever forms of control against future wars arise after the present slaughter ends will depend on the will, the vision and human lights of those who run the controls.
>
> Any scheme of international order that looks good on paper will depend for its working well on the character and personality of the men entrusted to operate the scheme.

Less than seven weeks after Carl Sandburg had dropped his post card message at the Flat Rock post office, the North Koreans marched into South Korea. The reporter wearing the big shoes and using the big ears had been out some place where he had heard the advance rumbling back of the lines.

BIRTHDAY SNAPSHOTS

By ELMER GERTZ

IT is almost five years since a large group of Carl Sandburg's friends in the Chicago area celebrated his seventieth birthday with him in a hall at the Sherman Hotel. The ages ranged from the very young to the very old. The intellects, interests, callings, financial and social standings were as diversified as one could reasonably expect on such an occasion. There were some who had known him in varying degrees of intimacy during all of his adult life. There were others who had touched him in some limited or special way during some brief period. All were there to toast the poet, storyteller, philosopher, historian, biographer, newspaperman, columnist, Pulitzer Prize winner, guitar player, singer of folk songs, supreme specimen of strong-limbed, clear-eyed and sharp speaking Americanism. Here was a character and a man of his time and clime and for all times and climes. Obviously, he was pleased with the attention being paid him and he responded with sonorous graciousness to everything that was said, the serious things and the joshing, the bright remarks and the dumb cracks.

Then he got up at the head table and surveyed this gathering of his friends. His eyes took in all who were there; he missed nothing. Many memories rushed to his mind; fewer to his tongue. He turned from left to right, singling out a man here, one there, and in a phrase, a sentence, sometimes a little paragraph, he summed up what this one or that one had

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Elmer Gertz is an attorney and president of the Chicago Civil War Round Table. Author of many magazine articles, he is working on a life of Charles A. Dana.

meant to him or to the community. His words were carefully chosen. They had the quality of his best poetry. He created images. A brief descriptive phrase told a story; had the flow of a narrative. One watched, one listened. It was something intimate and personal; yet it was theatrical, too. It was a revolving series of portraits by a major figure of American life and letters. One could not help looking forward to the next milestone of his life, his seventy-fifth birthday celebration. And now it is here. Carl Sandburg is as much as ever a significant figure, a foremost man of letters, and a human being of great reaches and depths.

Each one who knows him has his own mental picture of the man. It is compounded, in all probability, of a series of little episodes, little bits of conversation, none significant in itself, but all adding up to a deep and definite impression. I, too, have my little portrait gallery, and some of the snapshots from it pop out as I contemplate Carl's birthday.

Although profoundly and continuously interested in every phase of American life and history, Carl does not like to belong to formal organizations, even in his favorite fields. Thus he is not a member of the famous Civil War Round Table, although everybody assumes that he is. On one memorable occasion he visited with us when there was no set program arranged, the scheduled speaker having canceled out. This led to a sort of double debate on the *Atlantic Monthly* Lincoln love letters hoax and *The Diary of a Public Man.* In both controversies Carl was placed in the middle and on the defensive by our blunt and impious bunch. Why had he ever thought the love letters to be genuine? Why did he rely so much upon the *Diary?* Carl reasoned in organ tones. We replied in catcalls. It was an evening of lively indecision. Carl was less sure than before that formal organizations such as ours served any purpose for the creative writer.

It was a cold winter night. While we were driving Carl to his destination, our automobile broke down. This presented

no problem to him. He got out of the car with us and attempted, successfully, to push it to a place of safety. Then we went into a tavern to warm up. As usual, he engaged in conversation with the waitress, not about poetry or history or anything intellectual, but about the tough little things that would interest a hard-hearted girl. She could never have suspected that she was talking to a foremost poet and historian, a man who deserved the Nobel Prize. As a matter of fact, he introduced himself as the business agent of some roughneck organization, like the steamfitters' union, and Ralph Newman, genial proprietor of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, and I were given other disreputable titles. I am afraid that Ralph and I did not play our roles with his skill. The waitress must have thought that we were just ordinary bums. I remember a somewhat similar occasion, when our hairs were shorn on adjoining seats in a barber shop. Carl gave the barber a lively account of some of the adventures of my life, none of them true. I am sure that the barber thought that, at the very least, I was a companion of the then notorious bank robber, Dillinger.

Carl delights in such play-acting and avoids the mention of his great attainments or any self-identification, except such as would make him the brother of the streetcar conductor, taxi driver, barber or waiter whom he is addressing. On a Pullman car, he would shun the company of poets and scholars, and would talk with drummers by choice. Discovering that almost everyone who sits down in a Pullman smoker is an officer of some company or association, Carl had cards printed announcing himself as president of the National Association of Paw Paw Growers. These he would pass out to those who asked, "What's your line?" Enjoying the imaginary distinction, he had letterheads printed for the paper organization and selected a most wonderful board of directors, which included the President of the United States and an assortment of nondescript friends such as Ralph Newman and myself. It is doubt-

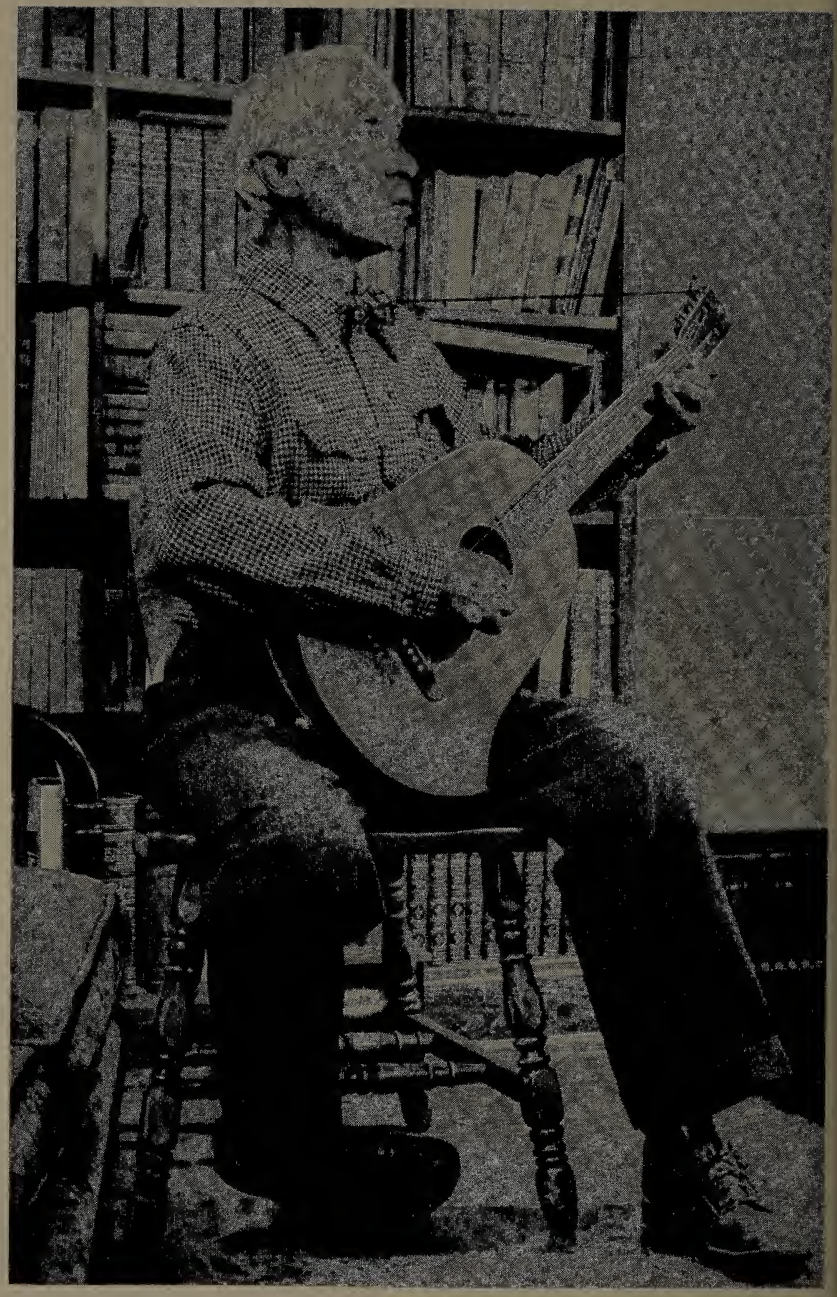
ful if anyone with whom Carl discussed the affairs of the association ever assumed that it was a fictional one. Willie Loman, the tragically typical American salesman, certainly would have been awed by the eminence of the president of the National Association of Paw Paw Growers, and few of the Willie Lomans of this world are able to understand that a poet means more than a realtor—that his territory is the minds of men, and not some little acre in a dull town.

Carl was announced as a speaker at a North Side Chicago synagogue. On impulse I attended. I sat as inconspicuously as possible, but the sharp eye of Sandburg spied me. He leaned over, beckoned, and asked me to meet him after the lecture. When the rabbi invited him to his home for a chat, he, in turn, invited me. About midnight our pleasant little session with the rabbi ended, but the evening had just begun for Carl. "Have you ever met Jake Buchbinder?" he asked. "He is the sort of person you should know." Thereupon, he hailed a cab and the two of us and Sandburg's guitar headed for the Walton Street home of the eminent Dr. Jacob Buchbinder. It would never occur to Carl or to Buchbinder, for that matter, that one should call in advance, particularly at such a time. The three of us talked to the wee hours of the morning on everything from duck-hunting to the mysteries of time and space. At 4:00 A. M. I felt that I had to surrender, and left the two old friends to themselves, while I headed homeward. I am sure that they talked on for hours; for good conversation is the substance of Carl's life. I was so much under the spell that I had forgotten that a young husband and father ought to advise his family of his whereabouts, and I was startled to see my wife staring at me out of the living room window at such an outlandish hour. She finally understood, as should the wife of any friend of Carl Sandburg's, and she canceled police calls and dried her tears.

Carl was invited to address the students and faculty of an academy in a town near Chicago, and, as always, he craved

company on the little journey. He asked me to go with him and Ralph. We dined together as Carl's guests in a restaurant adjoining the suburban station, each of us eating from a tray perilously perched on a one-arm chair. Our fare was such simple dishes as ham hocks and cabbage, coffee and pie. Carl's joy in this meal was as great as when that was all that he could afford. At the academy, Carl talked sonorously on life and the arts, transforming simple thoughts into high poetry. Even we, who had heard him often before, were deeply moved by what he said. Later, in a reception room, most of the audience shook his rough, eloquent hands and chatted with him, as lecture audiences do. There was nothing forced or inhibited in his manner. He seemed to be genuinely glad to discuss trifles with those who had been part of his audience. The head of the school produced a set of *The War Years,* and asked him to inscribe each of the four volumes, an unheard of request. Carl did not protest. As if it were the usual thing for an author to inscribe each volume of a set, he wrote something pleasant on the flyleaves.

Here he was in a sabbatical mood with his children, as it were. We all have seen him when the fury of a wrathy deity was upon him. I myself was once the center of one such attack. I had written something that had displeased him mightily and he whacked me with great verbal blows. He had been brooding about the subject for long, and now he burst forth, at first with quick spurts and then with tremendous blasts. Although I was the subject of his fury and thought he was wrong, I felt like a man privileged to observe Jove at work. I could not respond in anger. I listened, protesting mildly at best. Then the storm blew over. Carl smiled sweetly. "Forget it," he said; and we have remained friends.



THE SINGER OF AMERICAN SONGS AT HOME

This photograph was taken by William P. Schenk at Carl Sandburg's Harbert, Michigan, home on September 2, 1945.

HE HEARD AMERICA SING

By CARL HAVERLIN

I FIND it easier to be with Carl Sandburg than to write about him. I have ridden with him through the Lincoln country, over the roads of Illinois, while he fingered a borrowed guitar and talked of the corn lands and orchards he loved. At dusk, crossing the Des Plaines, we have looked westward into the low sun as he recited "Smoke of Autumn" with the three muskrats swimming. In a reproving dawn, seated in a kitchen, I've shared his enthusiasms for Villon and Lorca and hopefully read a favored passage from *L'Exil* of St. John Perse. "That's much too fast," he said, and took the book and read, lifting up each meaningful word from its cool blue depths with a craftsman's admiration. With a grin he had asked me to name the longest sentence and then read it to me, nearly three thousand words of it, from that fittingly tumultuous opening chapter of *The War Years*. He has stirred my emotions against the shabby, the juiceless and the intolerant with that bullthroat bellow of his, rolling up thunderously and without warning like Joyce's hundred-lettered reverberation in *Finnegan's Wake,* to die away, muttering, cool and muffled in a draught of Heineken.

Yes, I find it easier to be with Carl Sandburg than to write about him. His accomplishments bewilder and his personalities baffle. Sometimes so do his books, according to a story Carl himself tells with evident relish. Voldemar Vetlugiun, then an executive of M-G-M, after his first reading of

Carl Haverlin, bibliophile, is president of the New York Civil War Round Table and of Broadcast Music, Inc., New York City.

Remembrance Rock said ruefully, "Maybe it *is* a novel. Maybe it is a long romantic poem. Maybe it is a new form. If *Pilgrim's Progress* is a novel—then this is a novel."

To read Sandburg, or to be with him, is to be convinced that everything he has ever written is part and parcel of one long continuing story about our land and its people.

As I write, I look across shelves that hold all his books; all, my collector's pride urges me to add, in first and limited editions. The man who wrote them is simultaneously, or has been from time to time, a poet, a philosopher, a biographer, a reporter, a historian, a musicologist and a novelist. From *Chicago Poems* to *Collected Poems,* from *The American Songbag* and the Lincoln books through *Steichen* to *Remembrance Rock* they spell out the universality of his mind and his sensitivity to beauty, terror and humor. They bespeak his rigid devotion to letters and to his country.

Among the great volumes, standing modestly between the robust *Remembrance Rock* and the nostalgic *Lincoln Collector,* is a slim blue book, the *New American Songbag.* It I regard with blood affection, for I had something to do with it. I suggested that it be written, and our company published it. It has long been recognized that Sandburg is the father of the current interest in American folk music. The upsurge started with the appearance of his great *Songbag* in 1927 and his recitals have continued to stimulate composers, publishers and singers alike. When he told me that he had continued to collect folk music and had hundreds of newly found songs in his files I asked him if he and his publishers, Harcourt, Brace and Company, would approve of a new *American Songbag.*

I mention the book only that I may thereby pay tribute to Sandburg's indefatigable industry and to his essential integrity. To reach a market that might not readily buy his higher priced *Songbag,* it was planned to issue the *New American Songbag* as a dollar book on which the author's return would at best be small compared to his other publications. Despite this knowl-

edge and despite the seeming readiness of much of his collection, he labored in our offices and elsewhere during the major part of a six-months period, in the assembly of his material. Though he knew we could use only forty or so "new" songs, he prepared for final editing some five hundred items so that we might have the widest choice.

I did not know him while he was writing *The Prairie Years* or *The War Years,* but those who did say he worked then as intensely as he does now—tirelessly and with a singleness of purpose a little terrifying to the undedicated; as though the words he writes were a daily service at the altar of some personal deity.

Though we sometimes shared my office, most of the time he spent with us he worked alone in a big room, at a long table covered with notes and manuscripts and photostats, with a third of a cigar clutched firmly in his teeth, a shawl around his throat, his cap on the back of his head, a pencil stub dwarfed in his strong fingers. Pondering over an old scrap of paper covered with his unique system of musical notations, he would lean back with his eyes closed to hear it plain. We learned to wait before knocking at his door if we heard his guitar being touched hesitantly as he sought for a missing phrase, or strongly as his amazing memory brought the song swirling back up from the time of its first hearing.

Sometimes he would sit in front of a microphone and the boys would tape some songs to be transcribed later. (I still flinch to remember being told that all the tapes were erased when they had served their editorial purpose.) And all the time all of us felt good because here in our offices for a little while was a man who had heard America sing. In bayou and in sugar camp—by flickering fires along the railroad tracks, or in cool loggers' ways and in the prairie sun, he had heard America singing. Here among us was a singer who knew our great broad sprawling teeming tempestuous stern beautiful land—and a man who had heard our people sing—yes!

BRIGHT FELLOWSHIPS

By FANNY BUTCHER

TRYING to write briefly about Carl Sandburg is like trying to picture the Grand Canyon in one black and white snapshot. Only the whole panorama of his life plus its color can give any adequate idea of him. He is the epitome of the American ideal and the American opportunity success story as a person. As a literary artist he is eminent in more fields than any American living, pre-eminent in at least two, biography-history and poetry. As a gatherer and sharer of the kind of Americana that is expressed in a country's songs he is a creative artist. And as a septuagenarian still eagerly experimenting with the written word he is probably unique.

It has been, I deeply believe, one of the great privileges of my life to call Carl Sandburg friend for over half of the years that panorama was unfolding. As I look back over them I realize that the eventual stature of Carl Sandburg was always plain, almost as though time were coincidentally over him and behind him, casting his long shadow.

Memory starts with a time that I made a trip to the Sandburgs' little house in Maywood, Illinois, on a bitterly cold night to meet for the first time the gentle, quiet Lilian Sandburg and two bouncing little girls. I remember their father, with a great sardonic laugh, referring to the little girls as "the heiresses" as he pulled out of his pocket scraps of paper on which were notes, ideas, bits of half written and finished poems. As he read some of them aloud and added them to the

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Fanny Butcher has been with the Chicago Tribune *since 1912 as society editor, woman's editor, columnist, and book reviewer.*

little pile on the table he ruefully but gleefully said, "These are what I'll have to leave them—just pieces of paper, they'll be heiresses of scraps of paper," and the idea seemed uproariously funny to him.

For years we both always referred to the children (they became three) as "the heiresses." It was a sort of family joke. But from those scraps of paper there grew such a fortune as can be counted only in the wealth of immortality. Somehow I must have sensed that, for otherwise I would never have saved one scrap marked "Improvisation"—for it was frankly doggerel. Perhaps I saved it because it was so different from the serious work of Carl Sandburg, or perhaps as a souvenir. Here it is, in print for the first time:

The last time I saw Fanny Butcher
Was on a bitterly cold night
And Fanny Butcher was in a warm street car
With a book of O. Henry stories.
I wonder whether she got off the car
Where she ought to have
And whether
She has done what she ought to
In other respects besides reading O. Henry stories
In midnight street cars
In owl cars on the I. C.
And otherwise.

"Midnight street cars" and "owl cars" proved prophetic in the panorama of Carl Sandburg's life, as anyone who knows him well knows, for Carl is the kind of person who literally doesn't know time exists, time to be lived by, that is. He knows time only as something to be lived in. Of how many long happily endless hours when time was forgotten I have spent in Carl Sandburg's presence no record exists except composite memories beginning with that evening in Maywood. Never for almost forty years have they altered, neither in the slow rhythm of talk which takes no thought of time, nor in their timeless, unforgettable essence. Age has neither slowed Carl Sandburg's speech nor altered its vividness. When I first

knew him his words were spoken just as they are today in what, if they were visible, would be slow motion, and his thoughts unfolded as fascinatingly as a slow motion picture of a pitcher's curve ball.

Many of those early timeless evenings were spent in my own little study under the eaves in my parents' home in what we called "The Garret," where the walls must almost have applauded the talk so often did they vibrate with ideas. From just across the street came Lloyd Lewis, my contemporary, the son of my mother's dear friend with whom I was further inextricably united by youthful hopes and dreams of someday really writing something more than our daily stints on a newspaper (a dream magnificently realized by Lloyd before his far too early death). Sharing those hopes and dreams, although he was well our senior and had already seen them beginning to be realized in "Chicago," was Carl Sandburg who, often after their day's work together on the *Chicago Daily News*, came home with Lloyd and over to my garret for long hours of talk.

When *Smoke and Steel* was published Carl Sandburg wrote in my copy "For Fanny Butcher who heard many of these lines intoned before they were frozen in print," and that was literal fact, for Lloyd and I had heard them from his lips and his scraps of paper. Often there came not only Carl the poet, but Carl the troubadour, complete with guitar eager to match folk songs with Lloyd. Lloyd was also a matchless storyteller and they had a genius for prodding each other into talk. I always felt as though I were a kind of absorbent insulation—like that room in which Marcel Proust could work so happily, and if I was the listener of the trio it was because nothing I could possibly have said could have rivaled their zestful talk.

Those evenings were filled not only with fun but, now that the panorama of Carl's life is a longer one, with foreshadowings of two phases of his future work. For although *The American Songbag* and the years of trouping with his guitar

were not even contemplated then, and I don't remember his ever talking about writing what proved to be the magnificent epic of Lincoln (so I feel sure it was still only in his subconscious) he and Lloyd Lewis rivaled each other both in their singing of the old songs and in tales of the old days.

Inventors of art come infinitely more slowly into recognition than do inventors of safety pins or deep freezers, and Carl Sandburg was reaping little financial reward from his poetry when he tried his hand at books for children, with, likewise, much less success than they deserved. When I reviewed *Rootabaga Pigeons* with the enthusiasm which I felt for it he wrote me: "Dear Fanny: If you look close you can see foot-tracks of Rootabaga pigeons. What I tried to tell you over the phone was that your review was as young and careless and easy as I wanted to make the book itself. It was a winsome piece of writing."

No reviewer could help being happy over such words. (Gratitude, incidentally, is rare on the part of an author toward a reviewer, says this old one, cynically.) But Carl Sandburg has never failed in words of gratitude. The most memorable of them all, perhaps, are the ones he wrote me after the publication of *The Prairie Years* which I thought and still think, is not only one of the great biographies of all time, but unique in being practically one long poem in prose. He wrote:

DEAR FANNY:

That was a superb valentine you handed me publicly. It smashed all formulas for book reviews and made its own style, driving in its own independent brass nails of persuasive discourse, written eloquence. I have never had a book review that I am so sure so many people read more than once and took as testimony to be deliberated over. It was as though you had had some fun with that line on the last page of Smoke and Steel: "The peace of great phantoms be for you."

During the long years that Lincoln was his work in progress there were few long hours of stimulating talk, for when Carl Sandburg was not working feverishly on the book he was on one of his lecture-troubadour swings around the coun-

LLOYD LEWIS AND SANDBURG SANG BALLADS TOGETHER FOR MANY YEARS.

try. If ever a book was borne on the wings of song, financially at least, *Lincoln* was supported by American folk tunes. But after those lean years—lean especially for his friends who went without his conversation—he came back into circulation in all our lives. I remember out of the late richer years so many meetings that it is difficult to choose one which might be most characteristic. Perhaps it would be that evening during the war after a great bond rally in which Carl had been one of the headliners and I had got a special leave for the young poet Jesse Stuart, then a sailor at Great Lakes, so he could give a service stripe to the evening.

After the rally (in Orchestra Hall, and as I remember the Literary committee sold over a million dollars' worth) Carl Sandburg and Jesse Stuart came home with us. My husband gave them easy chairs, food and drink, and then he and I just sat and listened. It was an epic evening, with the young poet asking, the old poet answering, the old poet reliving his creative youth, the young poet searching for a glimpse of what age might bring his genius. How many hours went by none of us knew—nor cared. Months later, one evening when Carl Sandburg was again sitting in the same easy chair he suddenly said, "Do you remember the time two poets whose fathers could not read nor write sat here talking about reading and writing?" It was always, I now realize, about those eternal subjects reading and writing that we talked far into the night.

During that long stretch of work on the latter volumes of the Lincoln biography, Carl wrote me one day (it was in 1930):

DEAR FANNY:

Sometimes it is like a long stretch at Joliet to go on with this job of putting down the Lincoln of the *War Years*. I cannot say he was Here when he was There when a dozen witnesses or documents put him There in broad daylight. At moments I feel like the old gazabo Wilder had in San Luis Rey tracking down the lives, deeds and consciences of the people who fell off the bridge. This is an explanation and an alibi but there will be a song and story evening we have talked about.

Always an experimenter, Carl Sandburg, after writing poetry, books for children, folklore and biographical history, decided to try writing a novel which would be a Cavalcade of America (as it was in its original form for the movies). As always, after a review, Carl wrote to thank the reviewer—or this reviewer at least—and his letter throws light on the still moot question of why and how he did *Remembrance Rock.* He wrote in November of 1948:

> Thank you for affirmations and eloquences. As I look back what happened I'm sure, is something like this; after being long possessed by it, I wrote a novel of theme and structure such as I wished someone else had written for me to read 40 or 50 years ago so I could have gone on from there. The theme is costly, tangled in dreams and death. Tom Wolfe and Ross Lockridge died in their thirties, Stevie Benet at 45. Sometimes I wonder how and why I am ambulant and in my right mind enjoying certain fool songs more than ever. I don't forget a few bright fellowships, such as ours, running thru fair weather and foul, across two world wars. Be seeing you and Bokum this winter. As always, CARL.

"As always"—that, perhaps has been the special grace of Carl Sandburg as a person. But never satisfied with being "as always" in his work, always trying something new, never willing to stop trying. The last time we spent an evening together he took out of his pockets the same sort of "scraps" that had been in them when I first knew him. He read from some of them, new poems as experimental as was "Chicago" when it was written, poems in which, he said, he was trying to do with words what the abstractionists were doing with color in painting.

So the panorama is still in the making as Carl Sandburg's seventy-four years merge into an epic three-quarters of a century.

FORTY YEARS OF FRIENDSHIP

By ALFRED HARCOURT

IN the early nineteen hundreds, Chicago was a center for young writers and artists. Some of the best literary criticism of the country was appearing in the *Chicago Evening Post* supplement; *Poetry,* a magazine published in Chicago under the editorship of Harriet Monroe, was flourishing. In its pages, I read some poems by a new poet, Carl Sandburg, that stirred me greatly. When I went to Chicago on a selling trip for Henry Holt and Company, with whom I was then associated, I tried to find this Carl Sandburg, but without success. He lived in a suburb at a considerable distance from Chicago. I did find that he was a friend of Alice Corbin, Harriet Monroe's assistant, and as Alice was also a friend of mine, I asked her to steer Carl my way when he had enough poems for a book.

In the fall of 1915, she brought into my office in New York a manuscript from Carl, entitled "Chicago Poems." I saw at once that it was of first importance and quality. There was something of a skirmish to get it past the inhibitions and traditions of the Holt office, for its middle-western atmosphere, its subject matter and strength seemed to them rather raw for their imprint, but Henry Holt himself agreed to let me try it. Just before the book appeared, Carl came to New York, and I had the chance I had wanted to meet him. *Chicago Poems* received so much respectful attention from even conservative

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Alfred Harcourt was with Henry Holt and Company, publishers, 1904-1919; then he founded Harcourt, Brace and Company. He served as its president until 1942, and is now on the board of directors.

critics that Henry Holt and Company soon became proud of their "discovery."

For nearly ten years after that, my association with Carl was largely by correspondence, and what correspondence! Every letter he wrote, even of humdrum details, seemed to sing. Everything Carl writes is music and full of wisdom. He had a regular job on the *Chicago Daily News* so he couldn't get to New York, and when, in 1919, I started my own firm, Harcourt, Brace and Company, I was too busy to get to Chicago. I did drop in on him once in Elmhurst, I think it was in 1921. I found Eugene Debs there, just freed from a federal penitentiary, where he had been serving a sentence for trying to keep the United States out of the First World War. Debs was recovering his health and spirits in the warmth of the Sandburg home. I then heard Carl sing for the first time. Debs had been teaching him some of the songs he had heard his fellow prisoners sing. I had come to talk to Carl about publishing some of the stories he was telling his children, and I did get the manuscript of his *Rootabaga Stories* from him as a result of that visit, but the way he and Debs sang the "Sam Hall" song haunted me, and I put away the thought of those prison songs for future use.

Early in 1923, Carl came on to New York and went to lunch with me at the Chatham Hotel. He asked what I thought the next book should be. I knew of his interest in Lincoln, and I knew he loved writing for children, so I suggested a life of Lincoln for teen-age boys and girls. He told me then how his interest in Lincoln started. When he worked on a milk wagon in Galesburg, Illinois, his home town, Carl, on his way to work, cut across the Knox College campus, past a building on which was a tablet stating that this was the scene of one of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and giving a quotation from that debate. Carl learned this quotation by heart; it led him to read the entire series of debates and then on to other material connected with Lincoln. As he talked, he referred a

Photo by E. Schaal, 1939

SANDBURG AND PUBLISHER ALFRED HARCOURT

number of times to the idea I had suggested and finally asked, "a volume of 400 pages?" "Yes," I said, "but it might run to a little longer." When he left me, he had agreed to try his hand at what we described as a "boy's life of Lincoln."

Two years later Carl came to me with a manuscript. That "boy's life of Lincoln" had grown into two volumes. Carl himself was a part of the Middle West prairies and towns; his father was a railroad blacksmith who couldn't write his name, and like the boys of pioneer days, Carl had had to struggle for everything he got. In his manuscript he gave a picture, as intense as a personal experience, of the life of the poor whites in Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois from 1805 to 1855, and of Lincoln growing up in that environment, a product of it, and then beginning to work out his own destiny. The

manuscript stopped with Lincoln's leaving Springfield to become President. There was no title. At this time, Van Wyck Brooks had the office next to mine, and was acting informally for us as a special adviser. He was deeply moved by the work, and suggested the perfect title, "Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years." *The Pictorial Review,* a first rate magazine for women in those days, was interested in printing some parts of it before book publication. Since Carl was then known only as a poet, and his ability as a historian was untested, the magazine's editors were willing to offer only $3,500 for the right to select material. I told them I was convinced that *The Prairie Years* was going to rank as one of the greatest biographies in the English language, and that I couldn't consider anything less than $30,000. They gasped, but were convinced in the end. It was one of the high spots of my life when I telegraphed the news to Carl. He replied:

DEAR ALFRED:

This is the first time I've understood something about the emotions of holding the lucky number in a lottery. Prof. Armstrong of Baylor College at Waco wired your telegram to me at Commerce saying "I have received the following telegram. Does it mean anything to you?" I replied "Thank you for sending a telegram with news equivalent to falling heir to a farm."

CARL

With the publication of *The Prairie Years,* Carl was in a position to give up his job with the *Chicago Daily News.* Now he could have time for troubadouring, and when he was ready, to work on the continuation of his Lincoln. There has always been something of the hobo in Carl. In his youth, he did ride the freights occasionally, and once spent a night in jail somewhere in Pennsylvania, after having been kicked off a train. He knows and loves the whole United States, and knows people who love him in almost every part of it. He picked up a collection of American folk songs, especially prison and Negro songs, and went from place to place with his guitar, reading from his poetry, and singing from his songbag. His voice has a haunting quality, and these performances were a

great success, especially in the colleges. He got good fees for them, and he made these readings pay his expenses as he ranged up and down the country collecting Lincoln material. He'd see the people and the books he wanted to see, have a good time, and arrive home with money in his pocket. From all this troubadouring, he made a large collection of American folk songs which we published in 1927 under the title *The American Songbag.*

In December, 1939, we published *Abraham Lincoln*: *The War Years,* in four volumes. The book he and I discussed over the lunch table in 1923 was done. That "boy's life, about 400 pages," had taken sixteen years and grown to six volumes: *Abraham Lincoln*: *The Prairie Years; Abraham Lincoln*: *The War Years.*

When Carl brought me the manuscript of the last four volumes, he said, "This has grown into a scroll, a chronicle. There's one thing we can say for it: 'It is probably the only book ever written by a man whose father couldn't write his name, about a man whose mother couldn't write hers.' " I was so sure *The War Years* was going to be a success that I ordered an initial printing of 15,000 sets, and when I saw the advance orders, I ordered another 14,000 sets. We sold all these 29,000 sets at $20 the set—within a few months.

Now after this biography of Lincoln, after *Remembrance Rock,* that story and pageant of the American people as they have lived in the great crises of our history, Carl is writing a book which will tell something of his own growing up. He has taken up his guitar again and is going to sing of his own American "folk" story. He is calling it *Always the Young Strangers,* and he hopes to have it ready for publication on his seventy-fifth birthday next January 6.

Farewell to a Troubadour[1]

By OLIVE CARRUTHERS

The sun shines crocus-gold in North Car'lina,
And the moon paints the honey locusts with milkweed white.
—Can you forget stars falling into Lake Michigan,
Or the beacon, cutting the night like a silver sword?—
You will hear darkies, chanting a lazy coonjine
To the thrum of hummingbirds, like an old banjo—
Can you forget the song of the mighty city,
The traffic beat and music of tired feet
Pounding the noonhot sidewalk in weary rhythm
Timed to a tempo of hope—and a dream undreamed?
Take it along with you. Take the song of Chicago.
Sing it again to the strum of your own guitar
In the yellow afternoons of the sleepy southland,
On still, hot nights when stars are hanging near.
But know that you leave your song on the lips of the city,
In the laughing lake and humming rails of the El;
Know that you leave your faith in the hearts of her people,
Hearts that will break a little when you go!

Miss Carruthers' verse resulted in the following comment by the *Charlotte* (North Carolina) *News*:

A Frigid Coonjine

Olive Carruthers, bidding farewell to Carl Sandburg in the *Chicago Sun,* has written a tender and stirring poem re-

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[1] *Olive Carruthers, author of* We'll Sing One Song *and* Lincoln's Other Mary, *has been a student of Sandburg's poetry for a quarter-century.*

marking about the seductive South that will greet the old poet upon his arrival in Flat Rock.

"You will hear darkies, chanting a lazy coonjine/ To the thrum of hummingbirds, like an old banjo," Miss Carruthers warns Mr. Sandburg, and she also sings of crocus-gold sunshine "in North Car'lina" (the apostrophe, please note, is hers) and "the yellow afternoons" and the "still, hot nights when stars are hanging near."

Reading those lovely words today, while icicles dangle outside our windows and our ears are smitten by the traffic noises the late W. J. Cash once termed "the most fiendish sound outside of Hell, or possibly the Chicago Loop," we are strangely bemused. In the first place we don't know what a lazy coonjine is, and it's been a long time since we heard a hummingbird thrum.

If we, here in the flatlands, find an odd note in Miss Carruthers' poem, we wonder how it sounds to the natives in the high hills where Mr. Sandburg is making his residence. The darkies in Henderson county could hold a convention in a telephone booth, and there probably hasn't been a banjo in Flat Rock since Jan Garber played a dance there in 1928.

Miss Carruthers bids Mr. Sandburg to take with him to Flat Rock "the song of Chicago," a song "Timed to a tempo of hope—and a dream undreamed." We, of course, will welcome any dream Mr. Sandburg cares to bring along, no matter its state of gestation, and we don't think he'll find it too out of place at Connemara. But we also recommend that he pack along with the song of Chicago an ample supply of red flannel underwear.

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[1] When Carl Sandburg left his home in Harbert, Michigan, for the greener hills of North Carolina. Published in *The Chicago Sun Book Week*, December 2, 1945.

A SELECTIVE CHECKLIST OF SANDBURG'S WRITINGS

Compiled by RALPH G. NEWMAN

A COMPLETE listing of the writings of Carl Sandburg including periodical contributions, introductions, forewords, special work for anthologies, foreign language printings, etc., together with proper bibliographical comments, would occupy more space than is available to *all* of the writers in this tribute volume. There is also a tremendous literature *about* Carl Sandburg including several biographies and literally hundreds of articles relating to his unique position in American literature. This writer has been engaged in gathering material for a Sandburg bibliography for more than twenty years and the longer he is engaged with this task, the more difficult the work becomes. In the fifty some years of his very active writing career, Sandburg has contributed to every medium available to the writer. Sandburgiana can be found in many forms and in many strange places—from the columns of the *Day Book,* Chicago's famous ad-less newspaper, the back of a Keystone stereograph view, the pages of *System* magazine, to a foreword in a book of children's verse issued by the *Chicago Daily News,* or an introduction to the catalogue of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop.

In this brief checklist, I have endeavored to give only the main writings of Carl Sandburg and have also included a few special printings because of their very distinguished

Ralph G. Newman, proprietor of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, Chicago, has the largest known collection of Sandburgiana.

format and important content. In addition you will find listed the six early titles associated with his name when he was known as Charles A. Sandburg:

Sandburg, Charles A. *In Reckless Ecstasy.* Galesburg, Illinois: The Asgard Press, 1904. Pp. 39, wrappers. Introduction by Philip Green Wright.

The Asgard Press was a private venture of Philip Green Wright, a teacher at Lombard College in Galesburg. In 1904 the Asgard Press printed books by both Sandburg and Wright and each man wrote an introduction for the other's volume.

Wright, Philip Green. *The Dial of the Heart.* [Galesburg, Illinois]: The Asgard Press, 1904. Pp. 54, wrappers. Introduction by Charles A. Sandburg.

Reprint of above by Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1906. Pp. 60, cloth.

Sandburg, Charles A. *The Plaint of a Rose.* Galesburg, Illinois: The Asgard Press, [n.d., *ca.* 1904]. Pp. 10, wrappers.

————. *Incidentals.* Galesburg, Illinois: The Asgard Press, [n.d., *ca.* 1905]. Pp. 32, wrappers.

Wright, Philip Green. *The Dreamer.* Galesburg, Illinois: The Asgard Press, [1906]. Pp. 53, cloth. Introduction by Charles A. Sandburg.

Sandburg, Charles A. *You and Your Job.* Chicago: [n.d., *ca.* 1906], wrappers.

All of the following books are by *Carl* Sandburg:

Chicago Poems. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1916. Pp. 183, cloth. The marking "(3'16)" at the bottom of the first page of advertisements following the last page of text indicates a first edition.

Cornhuskers. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1918. Pp. 147, boards. Page 3 is numbered at the foot of the page. The price of *Chicago Poems,* listed on the page opposite the title page is $1.30. Later changed to $1.35.

The Chicago Race Riots. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1919. Pp. 71, wrappers. Introductory note by Walter Lippmann.

Smoke and Steel. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920. Pp. 268, boards.

Rootabaga Stories. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1922]. Pp. 230, cloth. Illustrations and decorations by Maud and Miska Petersham.

Slabs of the Sunburnt West. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1922]. Pp. 76, cloth. In the first issue p. 76 was omitted; corrected in all later states.

Rootabaga Pigeons. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1923]. Pp. 218, cloth. Illustrations and decorations by Maud and Miska Petersham.

Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1926]. Two volumes.

Two hundred and sixty copies printed on imported Dutch charcoal paper, numbered and signed by the author. Bound in blue boards with cloth spine. A few copies of this edition (probably six) have the misprint "tears in his ears" instead of "tears in his eyes" on p. 175 of Vol. I.

Regular trade edition marked "First edition after printing 260 deluxe copies," cloth.

Selected Poems of Carl Sandburg. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1926]. Pp. 287, cloth. Edited by Rebecca West.

Published the same year by Jonathan Cape, London. The rule for collectors of first editions has always been "follow the flag"—the preferred edition is that printed in the country of the author's nativity. In this case we have an American author and a British editor. You can have your choice or do as this compiler has done—acquire both editions.

Songs of America. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1926]. Pp. 11, wrappers. Musical editor, Alfred V. Frankenstein. A preliminary work for the following title.

The American Songbag. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1927]. Pp. 495, cloth.

Good Morning, America. New York: Crosby Gaige, 1928. Pp. 251, cloth. Edition limited to 811 copies printed on rag paper, each copy signed by the author. Designed by W. A. Dwiggins. A few copies have been noted printed on green-tint paper.

Regular trade edition issued by Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928.

Abe Lincoln Grows Up. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1928]. Pp. 222, cloth. With illustrations by James Daugherty.

Rootabaga Country. Selections from Rootabaga Stories and Rootabaga Pigeons. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1929]. Pp. 258, cloth. Illustrations by Peggy Bacon.

Steichen the Photographer. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1929]. Pp. 66 of text, 49 of photographs, cloth. Edition limited to 925 numbered copies signed by the author and Edward Steichen.

Early Moon. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1930]. Pp. 136, cloth. Decorations by James Daugherty.

Issued simultaneously by The Junior Literary Guild, Inc. in same format as Harcourt edition. Both editions marked "first edition" on copyright page.

Potato Face. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1930]. Pp. 96, cloth.

Mary Lincoln, Wife and Widow. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1932]. Written in collaboration with Paul M. Angle.

Deluxe edition of 260 copies on fine quality paper, numbered and signed by both authors. Pp. 357, cloth.

Regular trade edition, also 357 pages, bears the following statement on the copyright page: "Second printing [first trade edition], November, 1932."

The People, Yes. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1936].

Deluxe edition of 270 copies numbered and signed by the author. Pp. 286, cloth.

Regular trade edition, also 286 pages, carries the following caption on the copyright page: "First edition after printing 270 deluxe copies."

A Lincoln and Whitman Miscellany. Chicago: Holiday Press, 1938. Pp. 33, boards. Edition limited to 250 copies.

Abraham Lincoln: The War Years. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1939]. Four volumes.

Five hundred and twenty-five copies printed on all rag paper, numbered and signed by the author. Bound in light brown buckram.

Regular trade edition marked "First edition after printing 525 deluxe copies" on copyright page. Bound in dark blue cloth.

Abraham Lincoln. The Sangamon Edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940. Six volumes. *The Prairie Years* and *The War Years* issued as a single work. Sold by subscription only. Red cloth binding.

Bronze Wood. San Francisco: [Gelber, Lilienthal, Inc.], 1941.

Edition of 50 copies with an original photograph by Henry Flannery. All copies signed by Sandburg and Flannery.

Edition limited to 195 copies. Both editions printed by The Grabhorn Press and completed September 15, 1941. Pp. [10], boards.

Storm Over the Land. A Profile of the Civil War Taken Mainly from Abraham Lincoln: The War Years. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1943]. Pp. 440, cloth.

Home Front Memo. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1943]. Pp. 310 of text, [96] of photographs, cloth.

The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1944]. In collaboration with Frederick Hill Meserve. Pp. 30 and 96 pages of photographs.

Poems of the Midwest. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, [1946]. Illustrated with photographs selected by Elizabeth McCausland. Introduction by Lloyd Lewis.

Special edition limited to 950 copies on fine paper, bound in tan buckram, for friends of the publisher. Pp. 267.

Regular trade edition, smaller format in *The Living Library* series, cloth.

Remembrance Rock. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1948].

First edition in two volumes, on all rag paper. Edition limited to 1,000 copies, each signed by the author.

Regular trade edition, one volume, copyright page reads: "First regular edition after publication of 1,000 deluxe edition copies." Pp. 1,067, cloth.

Lincoln Collector. The Story of Oliver R. Barrett's Great Private Collection. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1949]. Pp. 344.

The first edition limited to 2,425 copies on all rag paper, bound in buckram, numbered and signed by the author.

Regular trade edition, bound in cloth, with some corrections, issued in 1950.

Complete Poems. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1950]. Pp. 676, cloth.

Carl Sandburg's New American Songbag. New York: Broadcast Music, Inc., [1950]. Pp. 107, cloth (copies also issued in wrappers). Brief prefatory note by Bing Crosby.

Always the Young Strangers. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, [1953]. Published on Carl Sandburg's 75th birthday, January 6, 1953.

BOOK REVIEWS

Always The Young Strangers. By Carl Sandburg. (Harcourt, Brace and Co.,: New York, 1953. Pp. 448. $5.00)

Here is Carl Sandburg, master yarn-spinner, very much "on the beam" in telling the story of his first twenty years (1878-1898). In *Remembrance Rock* (1948) he wrote about the history of our nation as a saga of struggle and change. In this new book he gives us crucial phases of that saga in terms of one Swedish immigrant family. But the sometimes involved prose of the novel is gone; Sandburg returns to the kind of writing that went into *The Prairie Years*—mobile, vivid, "as right as rain."

August and Clara Sandburg struggled hard to get on in the new land. For thirty years August Sandburg worked a sixty-hour week at heavy labor in the Burlington shops in the western Illinois prairie town of Galesburg. Fourteen cents an hour never added up to much; there were no vacations. He was a peon of the railroad. That he could, nevertheless, not only acquire modest properties (including a lot and house which he was forced, via a "sleeping mortgage," to buy twice) but with Clara manage to feed and clothe seven children, points to thrift, temperate living, and sheer peasant endurance. Often Carl's earnings (from paper or milk route, as barber-shop porter, etc.) and/or vegetables from the family garden spelled the difference between eating and not eating. Fortunately both parents had physical and spiritual stamina. Shortly before her death the poet's mother could write: "With thought and love in the home so much can be overcome." There was religious depth to the lives of August and Clara Sandburg; they had moral balance rooted in Old World piety, ability quietly to master circumstance, and, in Clara's case, radiance of spirit.

It was a New World rocked by economic upheavals to which the Sand-

burgs tried to adjust. Carl, the first son, was born toward the end of "the wild '70's". When he was nine the nation went into a series of economic crises that were to last a decade. The pinch of hard times, stoically endured by his parents, turned Carl as a teen-ager to Populism.

Reference is often made to the fact that Sandburg, among our top Lincoln biographers, grew up in a town filled with Lincoln memories—the fifth Lincoln-Douglas debate occurred there in 1858. The fact is important but it figures only incidentally in the new book (Sandburg's awareness of Lincoln deepening slowly with his own maturing). More central to an understanding of Sandburg's boyhood is the fact that he was born into a railroad center. The coming of the railroad (first the Burlington, then the Santa Fe) did more than anything else to change a dominantly Yankee, Calvinistic town (the first settlers coming in 1836 from the Mohawk Valley) to one which could acquaint young Sandburg with the diversity that is our American pattern. The "Q" with its shops and huge tie-plant brought in Swedes like Magnus Holmes (August's cousin who then wrote to him in Sweden "Come on over!"), Irish, the bulk of the local Negro population, people of other tints and national origins, and the Roman Catholic Church.

Thanks to his home town's being an easy rail stop for roaming lecturers, road plays, and other public attractions more or less cultural, Sandburg heard more famous platform personalities, and saw more famous stage offerings (sometimes from the wings as a "supe" or scene-shifter), than would otherwise have been possible. His memories of people like Robert G. Ingersoll, John P. Altgeld, William Jennings Bryan, James J. Corbett, Chauncey M. Depew, Robert Todd Lincoln (the last two coming to Knox College for a Lincoln-Douglas debate anniversary) are part of his new work's contributions to American history. Then the railroad, dramatic, whistling reminder of economic and other change, was a large factor, in view of his father's trade, in Sandburg's evolving social consciousness. Finally, at a critical point in his life, when he felt lonely and frustrated enough to think of suicide, the boxcars stepped in with their noisy, welcome invitation to see more of the country, to learn more about its people, its opportunities, and about himself.

Sandburg's new book might be sub-titled "The Early Education of an Immigrant's Son." Again there is a note of struggle. In grade school he was lucky in having more than one superior teacher who whetted his congenitally large appetite for education. He early became an omnivorous reader with a special fondness, reflecting New World consciousness, for American history. In his teens he did more reading than many people in a lifetime, going in for almanacs, "cigarette biographies," and paper-covered thrillers as well as for solid books like the two-volume *History of Napoleon Bonaparte* which he lugged home from the school library as a fifth grader. He wanted to go on to

high school with his older sister but family circumstances argued otherwise. By the time he was eighteen he was advancing his political understanding by daily perusal of the *Chicago Record.* He was quick to learn from a wide variety of people and from an amazingly wide assortment of jobs. Incidentally, outside the family circle which included three sisters, girls played little part in his boyhood; skirts induced bashfulness. Following service in the Spanish-American War, Sandburg went on with his formal education at Lombard College in Galesburg. His book takes us to his September, 1898, enrollment in the college.

Reflecting his eye for convincing detail and his ear for colorful American idiom, much of Sandburg's new book (for example, the delightful chapter "Kid Talk—Folk Talk") brings to mind that memorable bardic recital of American history—*The People, Yes.* The title comes from the poem "Broken-Face Gargoyles" in *Smoke and Steel* (1920). The phrase "always the young strangers" carries Sandburg's final social optimism, his hope of continuing progress via the dreams and deeds of new generations.

If you want the boyhood story, superbly told, of a great American, and, at the same time, would like to learn more about the people, problems, and promises of America, *Always the Young Strangers* is your book.

Galesburg, Illinois ALAN JENKINS

Abraham Lincoln: A Biography. By Benjamin P. Thomas. (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1952. Pp. 548, xii. $5.75.)

Here is *the one-volume* life of Lincoln that the librarian can recommend in answer to that oft heard query, "What is the best one-volume life of Lincoln?" In a few evenings one can read of Lincoln's fifty-six years, secure in the knowledge that in this well written, fascinating and absorbing biography, he also has the matured judgment of one of the best qualified students of Lincoln's life.

It is an excellent job of distillation, a masterful synthesis of the more than 6,000 letters, notes and speeches *by* Lincoln collected in photostat by the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, Illinois. It contains the essence of almost 18,000 letters *to* Lincoln comprising the bulk of the Robert Todd Lincoln Papers of Abraham Lincoln in the Library of Congress, which Dr. Thomas studied in microfilm at the Illinois State Historical Library. Among other collections used are the papers of Lincoln's private secretary John G. Nicolay in the Library of Congress. The Illinois State Historical Library's index (1831-1860) of the Springfield newspaper which supported Lincoln throughout his life made accessible much Lincoln material not used by earlier biographers.

Thomas has digested scores of monographs on related Lincoln subjects, many of these prepared by the graduate students of Professor J. G. Randall of the University of Illinois, whose own studies on Lincoln and the Civil War published in the last twenty-five years have added a great deal to Lincoln's stature as President. The studies of the day-by-day activities of Lincoln's life from birth to the presidency issued by the Abraham Lincoln Association (in four volumes, the period 1847-1853 by Dr. Thomas), have made for a high standard of accuracy and wealth of detail.

Noticeable is the author's familiarity with the subject derived from twenty years of residence in Springfield, delving into various phases of Lincoln's career, and into those of the Lincoln biographers as evidenced in his *Portrait for Posterity: Lincoln and His Biographers* published in 1947. Thomas was the second executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association (1932-1936), and is now a director and officer as well as an editorial advisor of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* edited by the Association and scheduled for publication in nine volumes by Rutgers University Press in 1953. For several years Dr. Thomas has been a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library, and is also a director of the Illinois State Historical Society.

These are some of the reasons why Thomas' *Abraham Lincoln* is a meaty book and the men and women in it are flesh and blood. Their virtues and failings help the reader understand Lincoln's handling of their problems. Most of all Lincoln is not lost in the Civil War, for Thomas treats all events from the vantage point of the President's knowledge of events from day to day.

Any reader who fears that Lincoln may become only a marble bust to the next generation has only to read the chapter "Profile of a President." It is not how free access is granted to a man, but how he "binds up their wounds" that measures him in the hearts of people. Lincoln's commonplace sayings and writings bear the stamp of individuality and belong to all literate Americans of each succeeding generation. H. E. P.

Lincoln, the President: Midstream. By J. G. Randall. (Dodd, Mead and Company: New York, 1952. Pp. 467. $7.50.)

There is a lot of Illinois in this book. First of all it is about the most famous of all Illinoisans. Second, it deals with reactions in Illinois at the time this most famous of Illinoisans was in the White House—the extent of pro-Southern sentiment, the political situation in the Prairie State, state constitutional problems in the early years of the Civil War and so on. Third, it is by the much beloved professor of history emeritus at the University of Illinois, J. G. Randall, who is one of the most distinguished of American historians

and scholars and a past president of the Society under whose sponsorship this *Journal* appears.

This volume is the third in Dr. Randall's definitive study of Lincoln as President. The first and second volumes, which appeared together in 1945, carried Lincoln from Springfield through Gettysburg. The new volume develops militarily the struggle around Chattanooga, with Grant opposing Bragg, and Missionary Ridge.

The preceding volume covered the actual issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation but it is in the period of this volume that the important reactions came. Along with these problems arose others in connection with the powers of the President in wartime and their relationship to the rights of citizens.

War and statecraft have their share of Dr. Randall's attention but only their share. He emphasizes Lincoln as a man—a man swamped with unending demands but at the same time living at least some of the aspects of more or less normal life. The author devotes chapters to "the gift of laughter" and to Lincoln's home affairs through which he sees Lincoln and his wife, Mary Todd, as loyal and loving if also a pretty lonely couple. Lincoln's humor, as Dr. Randall presents it, was part of the President's "art of living" and in explaining this idea he shows the similarity between Lincoln and Mark Twain.

An instance of Lincoln humor which backfired is recounted in the story about Ozias M. Hatch, Secretary of State of Illinois. Hatch and Jesse K. Dubois had asked for a certain appointment and Lincoln replied in a jocular vein with the result that he was misunderstood. "We confess," Hatch and Dubois told Lincoln, "your despatch read harshly to us." The embarrassed Lincoln commented that he "supposed you gentlemen knew me well enough to understand."

There is a twenty-five-page report on the Robert Todd Lincoln collection of Lincoln papers which were opened five years ago last summer in the Library of Congress. Dr. Randall's appraisal may be summarized by saying that these new Lincoln papers lack sensationalism, that they fill in a fuller portrait, that it will take time to know just how many varying purposes will be served by the extensive study which the papers will have over the years.

The last paragraph of the introduction is particularly interesting. It reads as follows:

The author's wife, Ruth Painter Randall, after years of research and with newly used material, has completed a life of Mrs. Lincoln—which is soon to be published. Since it is the history of a marriage—a double biography—it is valuable for an understanding of the man as well as of the wife. Her book

deals fully with the personal life of Lincoln. The writing of this competent biography during the period when the present third volume has been in preparation has been of great advantage.

Collinsville IRVING DILLIARD

Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War. Vol. III. By Kenneth P. Williams. (The Macmillan Co.: New York, 1952. Pp. 585. $7.50.)

With this volume the anxious reader gets his first good look at the hero of this five-volume series—General U. S. Grant. He is introduced at Galena, Illinois, in April, 1861, on the day that Fort Sumter is fired on. From this point Professor Williams, with a fine literary style which is augmented by his firsthand knowledge of military affairs, vividly portrays Grant's rise from a captain, who had resigned from the Army on April 11, 1854, to a major general, who assumes command of the Union forces on the western front on July 17, 1862. The whole narrative is thoroughly supplemented with many interesting photographs and helpful maps.

As this fascinating story unfolds Grant is shown, in early November, 1861, commanding an expedition, for demonstration purposes, against Columbus, Kentucky, but it turns instead into an actual attack upon Belmont and a rapid withdrawal to Cairo after inflicting and receiving heavy losses. This is the "class room" where Grant is learning by experience the value of rapid decisions. After this initiation Grant decides to gamble with a full offensive movement. With Halleck's permission he moves his small force of twenty-three regiments against Fort Henry in early February, 1862. It falls to a prompt and determined attack, which is augmented by Foote's gunboats, and the victorious force promptly moves against Fort Donelson which likewise is captured, acquiescing to Grant's demand for "unconditional and immediate surrender."

Professor Williams, however, does not concentrate entirely on Grant. There are several fine chapters dealing with the entire situation in the West and the problem of command there, with Halleck finally receiving the nod from Washington. After these events the story converges again upon Grant at the bloody battle of Shiloh, and it is pointed out that "in a narrow, tactical sense" Grant's troops were not taken by surprise. As this volume ends Grant is at Memphis and realizes that the next test of strength will be at Vicksburg.

Unfortunately the value of this fine book is somewhat lessened by frequent errors in quotations and footnote references, but nevertheless it provides a deep insight into this particular phase of the Civil War.

University of Illinois WAYNE C. TEMPLE

NEWS AND COMMENT

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The fifty-third annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in Kankakee on October 10-11. Officers of the Society chosen at this time, include Philip L. Keister of Freeport, who was elected president, succeeding Dr. Clarence P. McClelland of Jacksonville, and Dr. Harry E. Pratt of Springfield, who was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Four vice-presidents were re-elected: Mrs. Harry L. Meyer of Alton, C. C. Tisler of Ottawa, Glenn H. Seymour of Charleston, and James T. Hickey of Elkhart. Two newly elected vice-presidents were David V. Felts, Decatur, and Ernestine Jenison, Paris. Directors chosen for three-year terms were: Benjamin P. Thomas, Springfield; Dr. O. F. Ander, Rock Island; Harold G. Baker, East St. Louis; Philip Becker, Jr., Peoria; Stanley Pargellis, Chicago.

The two-day meeting opened with an address by Herman G. Nelson of Rockford whose topic was "The Local Historical Society." Donald F. Tingley, director of the *Illinois Junior Historian* presented a report on the Junior Historian program at this session.

After a luncheon in the Wedgwood Room of the Hotel Kankakee three brief talks were given by officials at the state hospitals of Kankakee and Manteno. Dr. Ernest S. Klein, superintendent of Kankakee State Hospital, described the advances in psychiatry. Dr. Alfred P. Bey, superintendent of Manteno State Hospital, spoke on the state hospital system in Illinois. Francis B. Scully, public relations director at Kankakee State Hospital, introduced both superintendents and gave statistics an the Kankakee institution.

A tea at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Small and a tour of the museum of the Kankakee County Historical Society were on the afternoon program.

At the annual dinner Dr. Stanley Pargellis, librarian of the Newberry

Library, Chicago, was the speaker. His topic was "Towards Illiteracy." He criticized the laziness of the modern mind in its effort to escape thinking.

On Saturday two tours were available: one through the Kankakee State Hospital, the other through the Gaines Research Kennels. After the luncheon Saturday, which concluded the sessions, Dr. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., professor of history, University of Illinois, spoke on "Backwoods Utopias: Their Significance in Illinois and the Old Northwest." Before adjournment President Keister announced that the Society's annual spring tour will be held early in May at Harrisburg and that the fall meeting will be at Mattoon.

Ralph E. Francis, president of the Kankakee County Historical Society, was local chairman and selected the committee which took charge of the innumerable details involved in the meeting. Members of that committee were: Mrs. Thomas Baird, general chairman; Mrs. B. A. Weeks, Mrs. Anker Jensen, Mrs. Cyril Close, Mrs. Harold Cooley and Mrs. Bruce McBroom.

HISTORY OF SECOND WORLD WAR AVAILABLE

Illinois in the Second World War, a two-volume history written by Dr. Mary Watters and published by the Illinois State Historical Library is now available for distribution. The books are $2.50 each and may be purchased separately. Orders should be addressed to: Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield.

The two books are attractively bound in buff-colored cloth with light red lettering. Volume I, "Operation Home Front," is 444 pages in length; Volume II, "The Production Front," has 591 pages—the sixty-page index for the two volumes is in the latter book. Both books are illustrated with cartoons from the Chicago newspapers of the war years.

As the title states this is the history of what happened in Illinois during the Second World War. Among the many topics in the first volume are: civilian defense, selective service, training stations in the state, services for servicemen, the soldier's vote, letters from Illinois soldiers overseas, scrap drives, Victory gardens, rationing and black markets, schools in wartime, and education for the veteran. The second volume takes up, along with other related subjects, the problems of the small businessman, "E" Awards, transportation by rail, highway, water and air, manpower problems, housing, labor disputes, farm production, and wartime politics.

LOVEJOY MARKER DEDICATED

Governor Adlai E. Stevenson spoke Sunday, November 9, 1952, in Alton at the dedication of a bronze tablet in memory of Elijah P. Lovejoy. The

Governor paid tribute to Lovejoy's service to the cause of right and the individual's duty to speak out for the truth.

The tablet contains the following inscription:

Here Died on Nov. 7, 1837
ELIJAH PARISH LOVEJOY
First Martyr to Freedom of the Press in America

Born in Albion Maine Nov. 9, 1802. Teacher Presbyterian Minister and Editor of the Weekly Observer St. Louis (1833-36) and Alton (1836-37). Without compromise he fought human slavery by the printed and spoken word and with his life defended his press against the mob which shot and killed him two days before his 35th birthday. "I can die at my post," he said, "but I cannot desert it."

Placed Nov. 9, 1952 by Sigma Delta Chi, National Professional Journalistic Fraternity to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Lovejoy's birth and to mark the site made historic in American Journalism with this fearless editor's blood.

BEAUTIFUL LINCOLN BOOK GIVEN TO LIBRARY

The most beautiful book in the Lincoln Library of Governor Henry Horner has been presented to the Illinois State Historical Library by Henry H. Straus, a relative of the late governor. It is a hand-illuminated volume with a hand-tooled leather binding and case which was exhibited by Kroch's Bookstores of Chicago at the Century of Progress Exposition in 1933-1934 as an example of the finest in British craftsmanship. The sixteen vellum leaves contain Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, his Second Inaugural Address, and Walt Whitman's "O Captain, My Captain." The ten by twelve-inch book was designed, illuminated and written out by Alberto Sangorski and the binding was by Riviere and Sons of London. It was purchased by nineteen of Governor Horner's friends and admirers and presented to him at a dinner on January 2, 1935. The currently appraised value of the book is $7,000.

FINE LINCOLN LETTER ON EXHIBIT

One of Abraham Lincoln's finest letters and one of his few known autobiographical letters wherein he tells personal details about his boys and his own health has been given to the people of Illinois by Dr. Karl A. Meyer of Chicago and is on exhibit in the Horner-Lincoln room of the Illinois State Historical Library.

The three-page letter is dated July 4, 1860, when Lincoln was a candi-

date for the presidency and it is addressed to Dr. Anson G. Henry, one of Lincoln's intimate personal friends and the Lincoln family physician until he moved to Oregon in 1852. When he was President Lincoln appointed Dr. Henry surveyor general of Washington Territory and after the assassination the doctor attended Mrs. Lincoln until she was able to leave the White House. Dr. Henry was drowned when his ship went down off California on his return to the West Coast.

GREENE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Judge Clement Smith spoke on Colonel Edward D. Baker at the September 27 meeting of the Greene County Historical Society. Donald F. Tingley was the guest speaker. Mr. Tingley, who is director of the *Illinois Junior Historian,* discussed that publication with the group. Mrs. L. A. Dickson is president of the Society.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS SOCIETY MEETS

A full day's program, on October 25, comprised the fall meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society. The meetings which had as their theme "Southern Illinois in the Mexican War," were held in the Little Theatre at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale.

Speakers at the morning session included: Dr. Norman Caldwell, on the subject "The Role of Southern Illinois in the Mexican War"; John W. Allen on "The Diary of Ben Wiley"; and T. J. Layman on "The Role of General John A. Logan in the Mexican War."

At the luncheon in the University cafeteria, "Civil and Pre-Civil War Ballads" were discussed and sung by David McIntosh. Following the luncheon Dr. J. T. Dorris addressed the group on "Michael Kelly Lawler, Irish-American Soldier-Hero." Dr. Dorris' collection of the Lawler papers was given to the Southern Illinois Historical Society.

A CORRECTION ABOUT COLES MARKER

A correction should be made in a statement on historical markers in the Autumn, 1952 issue of this *Journal.* The marker at Edwardsville commemorates the site of the courthouse where, in 1824, political enemies convicted Governor Edward Coles of illegally freeing his slaves. He died and is buried in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. An article on Coles, "The Virginian Who Made Illinois a Free State," by Eudora Ramsay Richardson, is in the Spring, 1952 issue of this *Journal* .

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